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# GREEK READER.

CONSISTING OF SELECTIONS FROM

XENOPHON, PLATO, HERODOTUS, AND THUCYDIDES

With Notes

ADAPTED TO THE REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION OF  
GOODWIN'S GREEK GRAMMAR,

*AND COPPERPLATE MAPS.*

EDITED BY

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*REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION.*

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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THIS Reader is designed to supply an equivalent for Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which is now almost universally read in preparation for American colleges. It surely needs no argument to show that a better knowledge even of the elements of a language is gained from a variety of styles than from a single author, or that even the briefest course of reading is the better for exhibiting the higher qualities of the literature which it represents. The fact that the *Anabasis* is accessible in carefully prepared editions has given it a prominence in our schools which neither its literary merit nor its historic importance could justly claim; and its exclusive reign has not been without its injurious effect on our scholarship.

Xenophon and Herodotus are perhaps the only strictly classic prose-writers of Greece who can be studied with success by beginners, except in selected passages. Demosthenes and Thucydides are by no means as well adapted as Cicero and Caesar to the attainments of young students; and Plato must be divested, to a great extent, of his philosophic robes before he can enter our schoolrooms. It will therefore surprise no one that so large a part of the present work is given to Xenophon and Herodotus.

We have attempted to select characteristic passages from

the four authors included in the work, and at the same time to admit nothing which a diligent scholar cannot reasonably be expected to master in the first two years of his Greek studies. We have given the Third and Fourth books of the *Anabasis* entire, as being the most interesting part of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and as admirably adapted by its simplicity of style for elementary drill. Then follows the greater part of the Second Book of the *Hellenica*, describing the capture of Athens by the Spartan Lysander, the tragic end of the long Peloponnesian war in the destruction of the Piræus and of the Long Walls of Athens — the pride of Themistocles and Pericles — to the insulting music of flutes, the odious rule of the Thirty Tyrants, with the expulsion of the oligarchy and the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus and his band of exiled patriots from Phyle; to which are added the last sections of the *Hellenica*, describing the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas.

Next comes the first chapter of the *Memorabilia*, giving the character of Socrates as drawn by Xenophon, followed by the last section of the same work. The short extracts from Plato which follow consist of the final address of Socrates to his judges from the *Apology*, and the narrative part of the *Phædo* describing the last hours of the great philosopher.

The selections from Herodotus are in four parts. The first contains the account of the invasion of Darius and the battle of Marathon. The three others contain the most important passages in the Seventh and Eighth books, forming a continuous account of the invasion of Xerxes, — the pomp of the Great King's preparation; the march of the mighty host from Asia to Greece, including bridging



the Hellespont and cutting the canal through Athos; the preparations of the terrified Greeks; the wisdom of the Delphic oracle and the craft of Themistocles; the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis; and finally the ignominious retreat of Xerxes from Salamis to Asia. The campaign of Mardonius in the following year, with the battles of Plataea and Mycale, is omitted for want of space. In thus condensing two long books of Herodotus into so small a compass, great pains have been taken to avoid abrupt transitions; and often single sentences have been taken from a chapter to keep up the continuity of the narrative. It is hoped that the wonderful story of the campaign of Xerxes has thus been presented to the pupil in greater vividness and completeness than it could have been by detached extracts.

The passage from Thucydides has been abridged by omitting the speeches, and such parts of the narrative as are not essential to the main account. As there is no continuous passage of this length in Thucydides which does not contain difficulties of construction or style too great for beginners, occasional liberties have been taken in omitting sentences or even clauses which are not essential to the story, simply to avoid difficulties. There is perhaps no other part of Thucydides from which so simple a narrative passage of equal interest with this story of Pylus could have been taken.

Although this Reader is especially designed for those who are preparing for college, with a view of giving them the best material afforded by the Greek literature to enliven the course of their earlier studies, it is yet hoped that it may be of use also to those whose study of Greek must be confined to the school or academy. It is especially

hard for such persons to spend a year or more in reading Greek, but to see nothing except the *Anabasis*, — a story of an expedition saved from oblivion chiefly by a skilful retreat, — when the great deeds of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis, Leonidas and his Three Hundred, Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Socrates, and Epaminondas are equally within their reach. For such, and indeed for all who may use the work, we desire that it may “enlarge and not belittle the notion of what a classic language and literature mean. The best justification of classical study, after all, is not its value as a means of mental discipline, but that it combines that discipline with some guiding of the mind towards the higher interpretation of history and the deeper lessons of human life.”

The notes make no pretension to learning, and aim merely at aiding beginners in laying a solid foundation for future scholarship. The grammatical aid is given chiefly in the form of references, in which alone it can be systematic. No notes can supply all the collateral information needed for the full understanding of an ancient historian. Constant reference should be made to a classical dictionary and to some Greek history. It may be too much to expect of school-boys in these days that they should read a history like that of Grote; but we cannot too strongly recommend all who wish to catch the true spirit of the history they are studying, to read Grote's graphic account of the Persian wars with Herodotus, his story of Pylus and Cleon with Thucydides, and his chapters on the Thirty Tyrants and on Epaminondas with Xenophon's *Hellenica*. Many parts too of his chapter on Socrates (in vol. viii.) would be appreciated by every thoughtful reader of the extracts here made from the *Memorabilia* and from Plato. We



believe, further, that the time spent in reading these chapters of Grote would be more than saved by their aid as a commentary to the Greek text, while the increased interest which they would awaken might often change the study from a task to a pleasure.

It is of course impossible in notes like these to give special credit for every remark which is wholly or partly borrowed. We must therefore express, once for all, our obligations to the long and familiar line of commentators on Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato; and last, not least, to Grote, from whose notes many valuable hints have been derived which could not be acknowledged by quotation-marks. The maps at the end of the volume are chiefly copied from larger maps in Kiepert's "Atlas von Hellas."

No Poetry has been added to this Reader, partly because the masterpieces of Greek Poetry are nearly all accessible in a convenient form, but chiefly because no ancient poetry is so well adapted to the minds of youth as the Homeric poems, which every scholar should carry with him to college without abridgment. One great advantage of the extended course of preparatory study which, it is to be hoped, all our best colleges will soon expect of those who intend to be classical scholars will be the more thorough acquaintance with Homer which young men will thereby gain before they enter college.

In the extracts from Xenophon, the chapters and sections are numbered as they are in recent editions. The other selections are divided into new sections as they stand, and numbered accordingly. In all cases (except in Plato), the numbers of the original chapter and section with which the right-hand page ends are given at the top of the page.

No special lexicon is added to the volume, partly from the impossibility of making a really complete small lexicon to such a variety of authors, but chiefly from the belief that the use of a partial lexicon is injurious to sound scholarship. We do not refer to such special works as are really more full than a general lexicon, which are often invaluable in reading a difficult author; but to such imperfect glossaries as are sometimes expected at the end of a Greek Reader. The abridgment of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, which admirably combines convenience in size with completeness and exactness in definitions, is now so easily accessible, that all difficulty in this respect is happily removed.

THE EDITORS.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., July, 1871.



## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE first edition of this Reader, which was published in 1871, was prepared by the undersigned and the Rev. Joseph H. Allen of Cambridge, Mass. The Preface to that edition, which is here reprinted without change, shows the general plan of the work and the purposes at which it aimed. In the present edition the First and Second Books of the Anabasis have been substituted for the Third and Fourth, and the notes on the Anabasis here given contain more than twice as much matter as those belonging to the same amount of text in the former edition. This change has been made in deference to the opinion of many practical teachers, whose views on the nature of a commentary intended for beginners seemed to the Editor entitled to the highest respect. It will be seen that the notes on the First Book of the Anabasis, which it is assumed will be used for giving pupils a solid foundation in the general principles of Greek Syntax, are especially copious; while those on the Second Book of the Anabasis, like those on the following extracts, are written for pupils who are supposed to have mastered the rudiments. In the opinion of the Editor, it is highly desirable to use as small a portion as possible of the classic literature as a *corpus vile* for the

more minute dissection, and to enable pupils at the earliest possible moment to read Greek and Latin with an appreciative mind. The notes on the *Anabasis* have been prepared in great part by my colleague, Professor John W. White, with whose "First Lessons in Greek" the students of this Reader have, it is hoped, already become acquainted. The notes on the remainder of the work are, with few changes, the same as those which appeared in the former edition. A map designed to illustrate the *Anabasis*, copied chiefly from Kiepert's map in Rehdantz's *Anabasis* (1873), has been added in this edition.

W. W. GOODWIN.

HARVARD COLLEGE, March, 1877.

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# XENOPHON.

## I. ANABASIS.

### BOOK FIRST.

**I.** Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτει τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὸ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρῳ παρεῖναι. **2.** ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. **4.** ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει αὐτ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. **5.** ὅστις δ' ἀφικνέιτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελείτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. **6.** τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτό-

μενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δ' ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. 7. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. 8. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἤσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. 9. ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικοὺς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκούσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρε-



φόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. **10.** Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὥς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευῇται. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. **11.** Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὥς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὥς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνεται δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιοῖν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὥς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτως οὗτοι.

**II.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὥς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὥς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅποσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. **2.** ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ

αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις.  
**3.** Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων.  
**4.** οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους.  
**5.** καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρασκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὠρμάτω ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὴν ἐξευγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά.  
**6.** τούτον διαβάς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους.  
**7.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρεῖ

δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας.

9. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἤττηθείς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταυτά τε τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾶκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους.

10. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαί· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσιάᾳ χώρᾳ.

11. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφέλετο μισθὸς πλεόν ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιψόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα



μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. **12.** ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεν-  
 νέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέ-  
 γετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ  
 τότε ἀπέδωκε Κῦρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ  
 Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπεν-  
 δίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ.  
**13.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα  
 εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν  
 ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ'  
 ᾗ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴῳ κεράσας αὐ-  
 τήν. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας  
 δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν  
 ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κῦρον  
 ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι,  
 ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων. **15.** ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς  
 εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δ' ἕκαστον  
 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν  
 δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος  
 καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. **16.** ἐθεώ-  
 ρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρή-  
 λαυον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ'  
 ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾷ καὶ χιτῶνας  
 φοινικοὺς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας.  
**17.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς  
 φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς  
 στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα  
 καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον  
 τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσύλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ  
 ὄπλα ἐπήεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θᾶπτον προϋόντων σὺν κραυγῇ,

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἤσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. **20.** ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. **21.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Σύννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἴη Σύννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἤσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεύσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. **22.** Κῦρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνὰς οὗ οἱ

Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλὸν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

**23.** καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσον δὲ τῆς πόλεως ρεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων.

**24.** ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς.

**25.** Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλουντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπήναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλίται.

**26.** οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἦκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κῦρος δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη, οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἵεναι ἤθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστει ἔλαβε.

**27.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κῦρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινά-



κην χρυσούν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀφαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν που ἐν-  
τυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

**III.** Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴ-  
κοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵεναι τοῦ πρόσω·  
ὑπώπτευν γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἵεναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρα-  
τιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἵεναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑπο-  
ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐεναι. **2.** Κλέαρχος δὲ  
τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, ὕστερον δ',  
ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-  
σίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε  
πολὺν χρόνον ἑστώς· οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώ-  
πων· εἶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. **3.** Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ  
θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.  
ἐμοὶ γὰρ ξένος Κῦρος ἐγένετο καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πα-  
τρίδος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς·  
οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
καθηδυνάθην, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. **4.** καὶ πρῶτον  
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύ-  
νων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰνοικούντας Ἑλληνας  
τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευό-  
μην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο ὠφελοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον  
ὑπ' ἐκείνου. **5.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι,  
ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι  
ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ψευδάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἵεναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ  
δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν  
ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. καὶ οὔποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὥς ἐγὼ  
Ἑλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλ-  
ληνας τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην. **6.** ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ

ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπείσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν ἔφομαι καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς  
 ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ᾧ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος  
 ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὔτ'  
 ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὥς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
 οὔτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε. **7.** ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιώ-  
 ται οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι  
 οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξε-  
 νίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα  
 καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.  
**8.** Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμ-  
 πετο τὸν Κλεάρχον· ὁ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρα δὲ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὥς  
 καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ'  
 ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι. **9.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελ-  
 θόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλούμενον, ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.  
 Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς  
 ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε  
 ἐκείνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. **10.** ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι  
 νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ  
 οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύν-  
 οἶδα ἑμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψεύσμενος αὐτὸν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς  
 μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ᾧ νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆσθαι.  
**11.** ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδ' ἀμε-  
 λεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ  
 τούτων. καὶ ἕως τε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ  
 εἶναι ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν, εἴ τε ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι,  
 ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν·

ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. **12.** ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρώμεν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὦρα λέγειν ὅ τι τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. **13.** ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέγοντες ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οἷα εἶη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. **14.** εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὥς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγούς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὥς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει' ἀγοράζεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὥς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῶ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῶ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. οὗτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον. **15.** Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσουσα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὥς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλησθε πείσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. **16.** μετὰ τούτου ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὥς εὖθες εἶη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι



πιστεύσομεν ὃν ἂν Κῦρος διδῶ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν  
κελεύειν Κῦρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; **17.** ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁκνοίην  
μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς  
ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ᾧ δοίη  
ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν.  
βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπίων Κῦρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελ-  
θών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυ-  
αρίας εἶναι. **18.** δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κῦρον  
οἷτινες ἐπιτηδεῖοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκεῖνον τί βούλεται  
ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἢ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία οἶαπερ  
καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ  
κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων. **19.** ἐὰν  
δὲ μείζων ἢ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα  
καὶ ἐπικινδυνωτέρα, ἀξιούν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν ἢ πει-  
σθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφίεναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν  
φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς  
ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ὅτι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι δεῦρο·  
ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι. **20.** ἔδοξε  
ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν οἱ  
ἡρώτων Κῦρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο  
ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβροκόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ πο-  
ταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν  
ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· καὶ μὲν ἦ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρή-  
ζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, ἣν δὲ φεύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα  
βουλευσόμεθα. **21.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἵρετοὶ ἀναγ-  
γέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι  
ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεσθαι· προσαιτοῦσι  
δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν  
οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρικὰ τοῦ μη-  
νὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα  
ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἓν γε τῷ φανερῷ.

**IV.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμὸν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἴσσοις, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. **2.** ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἐτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. **3.** παρὴν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμptos ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρον τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα. **4.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακὴ, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. **5.** ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἴσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις

πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσῃν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλυνεν, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς. **6.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυρίανδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. **7.** ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς στρατηγὸς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθήμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα εἶα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὗχοντο ὡς δειλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ᾤκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσονται. **8.** Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς εἶπεν. Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπη οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χρώμαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσουλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἰόντων, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήφονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. **9.** καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἥδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.



Μετὰ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρα-  
 σάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος  
 πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ  
 Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων. οὐδὲ τὰς περι-  
 στεράς. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν,  
 εἰς ζώνην δεδομένοι. **10.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς  
 πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δάρδατος  
 ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέ-  
 σσος βασιλεία τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ  
 μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὦραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ'  
 αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν. **11.** ἐντεῦθεν  
 ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων·  
 καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ὠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος  
 ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κῦρος μετα-  
 πεμφάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ  
 ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κε-  
 λεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπειθεῖν  
 ἔπεσθαι. **12.** οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον  
 ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ  
 ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφα-  
 σαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῶ, ὥσπερ τοῖς  
 προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύ-  
 ρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ  
 πατρὸς Κῦρον. **13.** ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελ-  
 λον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου  
 μνᾶς ἐπὶ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ  
 μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ  
 μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη. Μένων δὲ,  
 πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότε-  
 ρον ἔψονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα  
 γωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. **14.** Ἄνδρες, εἴν μοι

πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες οὔτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δέεται Κῦρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. **15.** ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἔπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσεται Κῦρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν ἅπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθόμενοις πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλου οὔτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου. **16.** ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπέιθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἦσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε. **17.** οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. **18.** οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐπώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο περὶ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖον κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσονται. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ, μεστὰι σίτου καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

**V.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασύγ-  
 γας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ  
 γῆ πεδίου ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλη-  
 ρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν  
 εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν. **2.** θηρία  
 δὲ παντοῖα, πλείστοι ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ  
 μεγάλοι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ  
 θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις  
 διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἔστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρε-  
 χον θᾶπτον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταῦτόν  
 ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς θη-  
 ρῶν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἦν παρα-  
 πλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτερα δέ. **3.** στρουθὸν δὲ  
 οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο·  
 πολὺ γὰρ ἀπεςπᾶτο φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς  
 δὲ πτέρυξιν αἴρουσα ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτί-  
 δας ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ  
 βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ  
 κρέα αὐτῶν ἡδιστα ἦν. **4.** πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς  
 χώρας ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος  
 πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ'  
 αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρεῖτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύ-  
 κλω. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.  
**5.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρισκαίδεκα παρα-  
 σύγγας ἐνενήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων,  
 καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ  
 τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ  
 ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ  
 ἐνοικούντες ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ  
 ποιούντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγορά-



ζουτες σίτον ἔζων. **6.** τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σίτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κῦρου βαρβαρικῶ τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων. ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἐπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβόλιον Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. **7.** ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὅποτε ἡ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. **8.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κἀνδύς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐστήκως, ἔεντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρानοὺς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. **9.** τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὥς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν θᾶπτον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπάρασκευοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγεῖρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλῆθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενῆς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο. **10.** πέραν

δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαίς διαβαίνοντες ὧδε. διφθέρας ἄς εἶχον σκεπάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνήγουν καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἰνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον. **11.** ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. **12.** τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγορίν, ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κῦρος δὲ οὐπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαυνε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις, ὥς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἵησι τῇ ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοὶ, κραυγῆς γενομένης. **13.** ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μείναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἳ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείστοι Θρᾶκες, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. **14.** ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιὼν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων

ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἑδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαινεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πρῶως λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. **15.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπήει καὶ Κῦρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. **16.** Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὅ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁράτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων. **17.** ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφοτέρωτεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

**VI.** Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνη ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὁρόντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας καταλλαγείς δέ. **2.** οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίῃ ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακάοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζώντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ κάειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. **3.** ὁ δ' Ὁρόντας, νομίσας ἐτοιμούς εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἤξοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνῃται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ



ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν. **4.** ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τοὺτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας. **5.** Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἔφη δὲ Κύρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. **6.** Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὃ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτὸς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, **7.** μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ τι σε ἡδίκησα; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἡρώτα, Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁπότ' αὖ ἔγνωσ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντας. **8.** Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι οὐδὲν

ἀδικηθεῖς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτὸν, Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος, Ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. **9.** πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν, Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλευῶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτου ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέῃ τούτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τούτον εἶναι τοὺς ἐβελοντὰς φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. **10.** ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δὲ ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. **11.** ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσῆχθη τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἴκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

**VII.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἑῷ ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. **2.** μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον

Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων τοιᾶδε. **3.** ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέκτησθε καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ. **4.** ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἷον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ κραυγὴ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τᾶλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκῶ οἷους ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βυλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι. **5.** ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε, Καὶ μὲν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνεῖ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος. ἂν δὲ εὖ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σέ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ' εἰ μεμνήῳ τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνεῖ. **6.** ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρώα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. **7.** ἢν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέ-

φανον ἐκάστω χρυσοῦν δώσω. **8.** οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξηγγελλον. εἰσήεσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιμπλὺς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. **9.** παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοι περ διελέγοντο μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ᾧ δέ πως ἤρετο τὸν Κῦρον. Οἶει γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κῦρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι. **10.** ἐν ταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀσπίς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφορα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. **11.** τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἰππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν. οὗτοι δ' αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. **12.** τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἑνεήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. **13.** ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς Κῦρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὑστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτ' ἡγγελλον. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ. ᾤετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα.



κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυιαί πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυιαί τρεῖς. **15.** παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. ἔνθα αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσai· εἰσὶ δὲ τέταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν. ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος. **16.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην δὴ τὴν πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο εἴσω τῆς τάφρου. **17.** ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερά ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. **18.** ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρας θνόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. **19.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. **20.** τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἤγετο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

**VIII.** Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσσαν καὶ πλη-

σίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἥνίκα Πατηγύας ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδρύνει τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὥς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. **2.** ἔνθα δὴ πολλὸν τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. **3.** Κῦρός τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδυ καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίσσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. **4.** ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. **5.** τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικὸν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. **6.** Κῦρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἐξακόσιοι ὀπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου· Κῦρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. **7.** οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς. **8.** καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἥνίκα δὲ δαίτη ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκὴ, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἥστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. **9.** καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρηνς ἐλέγετο τούτων

ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλίται  
 σὺν ποδῆρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὔτοι ἐλέ-  
 γοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ'  
 οὔτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ  
 ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. **10.** πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα  
 συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον  
 δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ  
 ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐν-  
 τυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα. **11.** ὁ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν ὅτε  
 καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ  
 σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσήεσαν.  
**12.** καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι  
 τῷ ἐρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα  
 ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ  
 βασιλεὺς εἶη· καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται.  
**13.** ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλεάρχος τὸ μέσον στίφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύ-  
 ρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα· τοσοῦτον  
 γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων  
 τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλεάρχος οὐκ  
 ἤθελεν ἀποσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φο-  
 βούμενος μὴ κυκλωθεῖν ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρί-  
 νατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. **14.** καὶ ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προῆει,  
 τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν  
 ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ πάνυ πρὸς  
 αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς  
 τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. **15.** ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας ὡς συναντή-  
 σαι ἤρετο εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι· ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέ-

γειν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ. **16.** ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἶη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὅτι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, ΖΕΤΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗ. **17.** ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλυνε· καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τῷ φύλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ προήρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. **18.** ὥς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φύλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἰόνπερ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δέ τινες ὥς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδοῦπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. **19.** πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἕπεσθαι. **20.** τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγεῖς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο. **21.** Κῦρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὥς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐξήχθη διώκειν. ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑτακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελείτο ὅτι ποιήσει βασιλεύς. καὶ γὰρ ἤδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. **22.** καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσῃ



ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγούνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφα-  
 λεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι  
 παραγγείλαι χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ  
 στράτευμα. **23.** καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου  
 κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ  
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἐμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύ-  
 κλωσιν. **24.** ἔνθα δὴ Κύρος δείσας μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος  
 κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν  
 τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς  
 φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐ-  
 τὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. **25.** ὡς  
 δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι εἰς  
 τὸ διώκειν ὁρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατε-  
 λείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. **26.** σὺν τού-  
 τοις δὲ ὦν καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στῆφος· καὶ  
 εὐθύς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν Τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρώ, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος,  
 ὡς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.  
**27.** παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλ-  
 μὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύ-  
 ρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρου, ὁπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ  
 βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν·  
 Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. **28.** Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος  
 αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα  
 εἶδε Κύρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.  
**29.** καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεύσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐ-  
 τὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν  
 ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ  
 ψέλια καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

**IX.** Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατος τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογείται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. **2.** πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν, ὅτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομιζέτο. **3.** πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχροὺς δ' οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀκούσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. **4.** θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. **5.** ἔνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. **6.** ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὢν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. **7.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιοτο καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. **8.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπείσαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς

σπονδὰς παθεῖν. **9.** τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κῦρον εἵλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβούντο αὐτόν. **10.** καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιοντο ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν. **11.** φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ, εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινας αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον ὡς εὐχοίτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιούντας ἀλεξόμενος. **12.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι. **13.** οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη. **14.** τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα. **15.** ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιούσθαι εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. **16.** εἷς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλούμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. **17.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε



πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνουν ἔπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος.

**18.** ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσκειν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι.

**19.** εἰ δέ τινα ὁρώη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς τις ἥκιστα Κύρον ἔκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι.

**20.** φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο καὶ εὖνους γνοίη ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ τι τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.

**21.** καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα.

**22.** δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς γε ὧν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὁρώη ἕκαστον δεόμενον.

**23.** καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἢ ὥς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.

**24.** καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων



καὶ τῷ προθυμείσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. **25.** Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις ὁπότε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίουσι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. **26.** πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα, Τούτοις ἦσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι. **27.** ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλὸν, ὥς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. **28.** εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοῖη οὖς τιμᾶ. ὥστε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. **29.** τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὔρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπήλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιοτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. **30.** μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. **31.** ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὥς δ' ἦσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὗ ἡγεῖτο.

**X.** Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ὥρμητο· τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς οδοῦ. **2.** βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. **3.** ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἐφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. **4.** ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. **5.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες. **6.** ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δηλὸς ἦν προσιὼν πάλιν ὡς ἐδόκει ὀπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἡ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. **7.** ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρ-

νης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πελταστὰς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκαυε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ καὶ ἠκούντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. **8.** ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. **9.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμὸν. **10.** ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχόμενος συνῆει. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὖθις παιανίσαντες ἐπήεσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. **11.** οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης τινός· **12.** ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασίλειον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν αἰτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνατεταμένον. **13.** ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἰθροοὶ ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἵππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. **14.** ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. **15.** καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. **16.** ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἴκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ καταληψόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι. **17.** καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλευόντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπίεσαι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορηστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. **18.** ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὖται τετρακόσiai ὥς ἐλέγοντο ἅμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. **19.** ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγέγοντο.

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 BOOK SECOND.

**I.** Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. **2.** ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες



οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι ση-  
 μανοῦντα ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν  
 αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἅ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις προῖ-  
 ἔναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίζειαν. **3.** ἤδη δὲ ἐν  
 ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρα-  
 νίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Δάκωνος, καὶ  
 Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῶ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν,  
 Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὥρμηντο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύ-  
 την μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμείνειεν ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν  
 ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε.  
**4.** ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες  
 πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τὰδε εἶπεν,  
 Ἀλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγ-  
 γέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καὶ ὡς ὁράτε  
 οὔδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα  
 ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, εἰ ἐνθάδε  
 ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ  
 μάχῃ νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί. **5.** ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπο-  
 στέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Δά-  
 κωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων  
 ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. **6.** οἱ μὲν  
 ὥχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορί-  
 ζετο σῖτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς  
 βούς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ  
 τῆς φάλαγγος οὗ ἢ μάχῃ ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς  
 οὔσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομο-  
 λούντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέροισι καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι  
 ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ  
 ἅμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα  
 ἔψοντες ἥσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. **7.** καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ

πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἑλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. **8.** οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. **9.** ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικούντων εἴη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τα ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. **10.** ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος ὦν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῖεν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλῖνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὥς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὥς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὥς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. **11.** πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι. **12.** μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλῖνε, νῦν, ὥς σὺ ὀράς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετὴ. ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι.

παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἷον τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχούμεθα.

**13.** ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἷε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως. **14.** ἄλλους δέ τινας ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομένους ὥς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιντο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτου στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. **15.** ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὗτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἶπε τί λέγεις. **16.** ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὀράς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. **17.** σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον λεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. οἴσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἅ ἂν συμβουλεύσης. **18.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα συμβουλευσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὄπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, **19.** Ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναί τὰ ὄπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἀκοντος βασιλέως,

συμβουλευώ σῶζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν. **20.** Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. **21.** ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαί εἰσιν ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. **22.** Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαὶ, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος. **23.** ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε.

**II.** Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὥχετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος. Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀσχεσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρῶ ἀπιέναι φησίν. **2.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν· εἴαν μὲν ἤκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πράττετε ὅποῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. **3.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα. Ἐμοὶ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά· καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσί-



πορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἵεναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. **4.** ὧδε οὖν χρή ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅ τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω. **5.** ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλθον καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἦρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροί ἦσαν. **6.** ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἑνενήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. **7.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὥς τριακοσίους ἡῦτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. **8.** Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ ἀφικνεῖνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὥμοσαν οἳ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσασθαι ἀδόλως. **9.** ταῦτα δ' ὥμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. **10.** ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεί-

περὶ οὗτος ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢ ὑπερ ἡλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινα ἐννενοηκέαι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω. **11.** ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἡλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. **12.** πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγω μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιῇ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.

**13.** Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν.

**14.** ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δαίλῃν ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οὐ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο, καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

**15.** ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἦκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιτο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμαις οὐ πρόσω.

**16.** Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγεν· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὁψέ ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος

μὴ δοκοίῃ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυσ-  
 μένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκή-  
 νωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος  
 καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. **17.** οἱ μὲν οὖν πρώτοι  
 ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι  
 προσιόντες ὥς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ἠυλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν  
 πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ  
 ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. **18.** δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὕστε-  
 ραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε  
 στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγῃ δέ,  
 ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδή-  
 λωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. **19.** προΐουσης  
 μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησι φόβος ἐμπίπτει,  
 καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δούπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγ-  
 νεσθαι. **20.** Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν  
 ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κατακηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχον-  
 τες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι λήφε-  
 ται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. **21.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη,  
 ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη καὶ οἱ ἄρχον-  
 τες σώοι. ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν  
 τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

**ΙΙΙ.** Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγῃ τῇ ἐφόδῳ,  
 τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ  
 ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι  
 κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. **2.** οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς  
 τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτησαν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγ-  
 γελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις  
 ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περι-  
 μένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρα-  
 τευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν,



τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῇ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτός τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. **4.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες οἷτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ. **5.** ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. **6.** ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαινον, καὶ ἦκον ταχύ· ὧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγὺς που βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις ὧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἤκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες οἱ αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσιν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **7.** ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰοῦσιν καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. **8.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. **9.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν κάμοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **10.** καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ ἀλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτω-



κότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. **11.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξειν. **12.** καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώρων σπουδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. **13.** πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδειν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλησι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι. **14.** πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. **15.** αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἣ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερε· τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαγὲς δέ. **16.** ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἐφάγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαγὲς. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος αὐαίνεται.

**17.** Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δούλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιαύδε. **18.** Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς

εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ καμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὔρημα ἐποίησάμην εἴ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. **19.** ταῦτα δὲ γνούς ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. **20.** καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευέσθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ἢ εἰάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι. **21.** πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὥς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὔρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. **22.** ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. **23.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθ' ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἵκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποι-

οὔντες. **24.** ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πύλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἤκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. **25.** καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφείναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. **26.** τέλος δὲ εἶπε, Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἢ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **27.** ὑμᾶς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσυνῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὁπόταν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἦν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνούμενους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. **28.** ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. **29.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπρίξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.

**IV.** Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαίου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. **2.** τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίου ἦτ-



τον προσέχοντες τοῖς "Ελλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς, **3.** Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ελλησι φόβος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὴν δὲ πάλιν ἀλίσθῃ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. **4.** ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκίπτει τι ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, ὥς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτέ ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. **5.** Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελεῖψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. **6.** ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλύόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέῃ ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι. **7.** ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλά ἐστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι "Ελλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.



8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπὶ ὧν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. 9. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντα καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. 10. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ μείον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχεν. 11. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρείχε. 12. διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἰς αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὥκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. 13. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἣ ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίου πεντεκαίδεκα. 14. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα, οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. 15. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον

ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός τις ἠρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐξήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὦν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου.

**16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάοζος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ. **17.** καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λύσαι Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτὸς, εἰ δὲ δύνηται, ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. **18.** ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. **19.** νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὦσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. **20.** εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. **21.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. **22.** τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψειαν, ὁκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείνειαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης

καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο εἴ τις βούλοιο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. **23.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὁμως φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. **24.** ἐπειδὴ δ' ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεται. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδὴ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων.

**25.** Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρον· ἐπὴν δὲ γέφυρα· καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὤκειτο πόλις μεγάλη ἣ ὄνομα Ὡπιδίς· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὥς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐθεώρει. **26.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι δόξαι πάμπλου εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπεπλήχθαι θεωροῦντα. **27.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἐξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης, Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν, διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνὴν δὲ σῆτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. **28.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν

σταθμούς ἐρήμους τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ὑριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὠκείτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναί, ἐξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διηγόν ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυροὺς, οἶνον.

**V.** Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαί μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. **2.** ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, εἴ πως δύναίτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψε τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἐτοιμῶς ἐκέλευεν ἤκειν. **3.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγὼ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγεννημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. **4.** ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σέ αἰσθέσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἔλθειν, ὅπως εἰ δυναίμεθα ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. **5.** καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθᾶσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. **6.** τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἂν παύεσθαι ἤκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. **7.** πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ' ἂν εὐδαίμονισαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος



ἀποδραΐη οὐθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίη. πάντα γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κράτουσι. **8.** περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὕτω γινγνώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σέ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. **9.** σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὖπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδεῶν οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἢ ὁδός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. **10.** εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἐφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἷων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερῆσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. **11.** ἐγὼ γὰρ Κῦρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο· σέ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἣ Κῦρος πολεμία ἐχρήτο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὔσαν. **12.** τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σέ βουλήσσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι. **13.** οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα αἰεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γινγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποία δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσασθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. **14.** ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιό τω φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δέ τίς

σε λυποίῃ, ὡς δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο, ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρετάς, οἳ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως.

**15.** ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τοῦνομα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ᾧδε ἀπημείφθη.

**16.** Ἄλλ' ἥδομαι μὲν, ᾧ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἂν μάθης ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. **17.** εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως ἐν ᾗ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; **18.** ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁράτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὅποσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. **19.** εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρείττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστίν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ᾧ ὑμεῖς οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε. **20.** πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβῆς, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχυρός; **21.** παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων

καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιτοκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοί ἐσμεν. **22.** ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὦ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῶ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. **23.** ὅσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

**24.** Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἄξιοι εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; **25.** Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἷ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὥς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. **26.** Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω. **27.** ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δηλὸς τ' ἦν πάνυ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακείσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκείνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἵεναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. **28.** ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγεννημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στρατεύμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ἦ Τισσαφέρνει. **29.** ἐβούλετο δὲ

καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι· τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἰέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγούς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. **30.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπρίξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγούς ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὥς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὥς διακόσιοι.

**31.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἶσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θετταλὸς, Ἀγίας Ἀρκᾶς, Κλέαρχος Λίκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. **32.** οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τ' ἔνδον συνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἑλληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον. **33.** οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν τε ἰππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες καὶ ὅ τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφεγνῶσιν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκᾶς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. **34.** ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἥξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. **35.** οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοξος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν ἑὺρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀρᾶν καὶ γιγνώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. **36.** οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως. **37.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Φλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφὼν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ



περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὼν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ  
 σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. **38.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἕστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον,  
 εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ  
 ἐπιорκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ  
 τέθηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄπλα  
 ἀπαιτεῖ· ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν, ἐπείπερ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ  
 ἐκείνου δούλου. **39.** πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος· ὦ κακίστε ἀνθρώπων  
 Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε  
 οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς ἀν-  
 τούς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισ-  
 σαφέρνει τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας  
 αὐτοὺς οἷς ὥμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προ-  
 δεδωκότες σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; **40.** ὁ δὲ  
 Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς  
 ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν  
 τούτοις. **41.** ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν  
 τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλue τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει·  
 δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιорκοῦντας· Πρόξενος δὲ  
 καὶ Μένων ἐπείπερ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ  
 στρατηγοὶ, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε  
 ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα  
 συμβουλευσαι. **42.** πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον  
 διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

**VI.** Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν  
 ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς  
 μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπεί-  
 ρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ  
 φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. **2.** καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπεὶ

δὲ εἰρήνην ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θράκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἰδύνατο παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ Περίνθου Θραξίν. **3.** ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχεται πλέων εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον. **4.** ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον ἄλλη γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κῦρος μνρίους δαρεικούς. **5.** ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι Κῦρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος. τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσων. **6.** ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. ἐκείνος δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. **7.** πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτῇ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὠμολόγουν. **8.** καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς δυνατόν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἶον κακεῖνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. **9.** τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαζε τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν

ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμη δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγείτο ὄφελος εἶναι, **10.** ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἵεναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. **11.** ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. **12.** ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὤμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. **13.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οὔτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρήτο. **14.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει. **15.** τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη. **16.** Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος εὐθύς μὲν μεिरάκιον ὦν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίῳ. **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά· **18.** τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἐνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ-

το εἶχεν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικάῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. **19.** ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνῳ· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. **20.** ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε καγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

**21.** Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείῳ λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείῳ κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίῃ δίκην. **22.** ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίῃ συντομωτάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. **23.** στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίῃ φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν αἰὲ διελέγετο. **24.** καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. **25.** καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὥπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκούσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. **26.** ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους



διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν αἰεὶ ἐνόμι-  
 ζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλία, δια-  
 βάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. **27.** τὸ  
 δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδι-  
 κεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου  
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλείστα δύναίτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν.  
 εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὁπότε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι  
 χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. **28.** καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τὰδ'  
 ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διε-  
 πράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίους  
 καλοῖς ἤδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παι-  
 δικὰ εἶχε. **29.** ἀποθνησκόν-  
 των δὲ τῶν συστρατῆγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν  
 Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων  
 θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ  
 ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς  
 κεφαλὰς, ὥσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκι-  
 σθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

**30.** Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὺς καὶ Σώκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τούτῳ  
 ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατε-  
 γέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦστην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ  
 τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

## II. FALL AND RESTORATION OF ATHENS.

[Hellenica, II.]

**II. 3.** Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης  
 νυκτὸς, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς  
 διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐς ἄστυ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ  
 παραγγέλλω ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ

μόνον τους ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίας, καὶ Σκιωναίους, καὶ Τορωναίους, καὶ Αἰγινήτας, καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 4. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς, καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ εὐτρεπίζειν, καὶ φύλακας ἐφιστάναι, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὡς ἐς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον, κατεσκευάσατο τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ Μιτυλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριῆρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. 6. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, πλὴν Σαμίων. οὗτοι δὲ, σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες, κατείχον τὴν πόλιν. 7. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξήεσαν πανδημεῖ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι, πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, Πανσανίου. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. 9. Λύσανδρος δὲ, ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἰγιναν, ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν· ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμίνα, ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἵργε τοῦ εἵσπλου.

10. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν, ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμά-

χων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ ἑτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. **11.** διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες, ἐκαρτέρουν· καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶ πολλῶν, οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σίτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἁγιν, βουλόμενοι ξύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ξυνηθήκας ποιείσθαι. **12.** ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. **13.** οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ ἐπύθοντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἑφοροὶ ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἰᾷ περ καὶ πρὸς Ἁγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ, εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἡκεῖν βουλευσαμένους. **14.** Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὥροντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι, καὶ, ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. **15.** περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ, εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιείσθαι, ἐδέθη· (προεκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκάτερον·) ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύειν.

**16.** Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων, Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ

πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα, ὅτι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τῷ τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύοι ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευτῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.

**18.** Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς Ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίου ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. **19.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις, ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἤκοιεν, εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης. μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καλεῖν ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. **20.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας, Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται. **21.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανεφέροντο ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχέιτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοὶ ἤκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. **22.** Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὥς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περαιοῦν.



ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολλῷ δὲ πλειόνων ξυνε-  
 παινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. **23.** Μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οἱ  
 φυγάδες κατήγεσαν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρί-  
 δων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

**III.** Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει — ἐν ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣ τὸ στά-  
 διον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλὸς, Εὐδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύ-  
 οντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν  
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν· ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε —  
**2.** ἔδοξε τῷ δίμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι. οἱ τοὺς πα-  
 τρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι· καὶ  
 ἡρέθησαν οὗτοι, Πολυάρχης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππό-  
 λοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηρα-  
 μένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαῖδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος,  
 Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς,  
 Θεόγνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος,  
 Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμαχος,  
 Μνησιθείδης. **3.** Τούτων δὴ πραχθέντων, ἀπέπλει Λύσαν-  
 δρος πρὸς Σάμον· Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ  
 πεζὸν στράτευμα, διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους. . . . .

**11.** Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ  
 μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθήρεθη· αἰρεθέν-  
 τες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράφαι νόμους, καθ' οὓςτινας πολιτεύ-  
 σονται, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον ξυγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀπο-  
 δεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν, ὥς  
 ἑδόκει αὐτοῖς. **12.** Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν, οὓς πάντες ἦδε-  
 σαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, καὶ τοῖς  
 καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον  
 θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἳ τε

ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ξυνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. **13.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν, πέμψαντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμ-  
πραῖσαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ, τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμε-  
νοι, καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπι-  
σχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον  
ἄρμοστὴν ξυνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι.

**14.** Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον  
ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὥς πάντα ἐπαινοίῃ ἃ πράτ-  
τοιεν· τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς  
ἐβούλονται, ξυνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ  
ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὐς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρω-  
θυμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας  
πλείστους ἂν τοὺς ξυνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. **15.** Τῷ μὲν  
οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε  
καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολ-  
λοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηρα-  
μένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις  
ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μηδεὶ  
κακὸν εἰργάζετο· Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δι'  
τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν.  
**16.** Ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρῆτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέ-  
λεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις, μη-  
οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ  
δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶει, ὥς-  
περ τυραννίδος, ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελείσθαι,  
εὐνήθης εἶ.

**17.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀποθυησκότων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως,  
πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ξυνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί

ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. **18.** ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυνέησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. **19.** ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ εἶναι, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους, οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι. Ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. **20.** Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς, τὰ ὄπλα πάντων, πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων, παρείλοντο· καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ξυνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

**21.** Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὥς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι βούλονται, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. **22.** Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι, φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι, ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ, παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν, ζῆν εἶων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενούμεν

μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν ; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα ; **23.** Οἱ δ', ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλονται, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον, ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι, ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλῃς ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, ξυνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. **24.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταὶ, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτείαι μεθίστανται, πάνταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστοις δ' ἀνάγκη πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι, διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. **25.** ἡμεῖς δὲ, γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐ ποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. **26.** καὶ εἴαν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. **27.** Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτουῖ, οἷς δύναται, ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουῖ τὰ παρόντα, οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλόμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρὸς γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· **28.** νῦν δὲ, —



αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, — νῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. **29.** ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ· τοσούτῳ δ' ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ πολέμιοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται αὖθις, καὶ πιστοὶ γίγνονται· ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς, οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. **30.** Ἴνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καὶνὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνώνα, προπετεέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευνεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ξυνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο. **31.** ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων. δεῖ δὲ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς ξυνόντας, ἣν δέ τι ἀντικόπτη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ, ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς ἐς τὰναντία πλέοιεν; **32.** Καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πάσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι· σὺ δὲ, διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι, πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ

δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. Οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν, ὃς, ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος, ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ.

**33.** ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρέπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα, καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.

**34.** Ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι, ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πρᾶττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, εἰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε· ὥς οὗτος, σωθεὶς μὲν, πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν· ἀπολόμενος δὲ, πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

**35.** Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν, προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος, ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαί-

νουτο· φάσκοντες γὰρ οἶόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας,  
 προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι, ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. **36.** οὐ  
 μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ  
 ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ  
 Προμηθεὺς δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε, καὶ τοὺς πενέστας  
 ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. **37.** ὦν μὲν οὖν οὗτος  
 ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε, μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμο-  
 λογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται  
 παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖν, δί-  
 καιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις  
 μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστίν, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα  
 κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος  
 ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. **38.** Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε  
 καταστῆναι ἐς τὴν βουλείαν, καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ  
 τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι, πάντες ταῦτα  
 ἐγινώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς  
 τε κάγαθούς ξυλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ γὰρ ἡρξάμην τὰ-  
 ναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν. **39.** ἤδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποθνή-  
 σκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος  
 καὶ δοκούντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικούντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὅμοιοι  
 τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πο-  
 λιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι, ξυλλαμβανομένου  
 Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε  
 δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ  
 ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ὑμῖν γενήσονται. **40.** ἀλλὰ μὲν, καὶ  
 Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο  
 τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ  
 πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ὑμῖν  
 ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον  
 λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι, τούτων ἀπο-  
 λομένων, καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ

ἔσονται. **41.** ἀντίειπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρήναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως, ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι, μηδὲν δυναίμεθα αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν, ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πῖσαντας.

**42.** οὐδὲ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι ξυνήρεσκε μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσιν. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιντο, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ξυμμάχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο.

**43.** Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως, ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ οἱ ξυμμάχους πλείστοις διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες, καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς. δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. **44.** Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον, καὶ Ἄνυτον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας, ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἰνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ξυμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κρίτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας. **45.** Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἶμι οἷος ἀεὶ ποτε



μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. **46.** ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον, στρατηγοῦντες, φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐβούλουντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, — εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; **47.** Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὥς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν· ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον — ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν — τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγέννησαι. **48.** ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι, καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν· καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ αἰ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ, οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις, καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν, πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμεν εἶναι, καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. **49.** εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ ξὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων, ἢ πρότερον πώποτε ταῦτα πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

**50.** Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνούς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι, εἰ

ἐπιτρέψει τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγήσάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα, ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. **51.** πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρώων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἷδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὗ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου· τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ξυνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

**52.** Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ, μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ', ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. **53.** καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. Ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καλοὶ καγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδέν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου.

**54.** Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου, τοῦ θρασυτάτου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παρα-

δίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτουῖ, κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες, οἱ ἔνδεκα, οὗ δεῖ, τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράσσετε. 55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλή ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ, καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. 56. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μάλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. Λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ· ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅτι οἰμῶξοιτο εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, οἰμῶξομαι; Καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπие, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστὸν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρестηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες, ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρά καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα, Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. 3. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφύρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. 4. γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας, ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ, ἐφύλαττον.

5. Ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων ἐς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς, καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτὸς· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντο, ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα, δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὖς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἐπτὰ στάδια· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. 7. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον· προσμείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

8. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ



σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ξυνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ξυνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευσαν ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα.

9. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν ξυνειλεγμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβήσθε. Δείξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. 10. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδεῖου ἔξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἄρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, περὶ χιλίους ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνέεται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. 11. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι, οὕπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

ἄστεος εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. **12.** οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντανέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλεόν ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγέγοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσήεσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας, καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον σταῖς, ἔλεξεν·

**13.** Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνησάσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι, ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαντον, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο· ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται, οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ εὐχόμεθα. **14.** ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ — ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες ξυνελαμβάνόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα — νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ· καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων, ὀλίγοις οὖσι τρόπαια ἴστασθαι διδόασιν. **15.** καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὐτε βάλλειν οὐτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἵεναι, δύναιντ' ἄν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐς τὸ κάταντες καὶ

δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους, ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. **16.** καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δὲ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν, ὅπου ἂν βουλόμεθα, καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. **17.** Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρῆ ποιεῖν, ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπιδώσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν· εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται. Ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ, παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐννάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν, τιμωρόμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

**18.** Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· Ἐπειδὴ μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγήσόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς· νίκη δὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένη, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. **19.** καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος, ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἳ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος· τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων, Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος· τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον,

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδουσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.

**20.** Κλεόκριτος δὲ, ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὐφρονος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· "Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτείνει βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ ξυγχορευταὶ καὶ ξυμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ ξυστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. **21.** πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων καὶ μητρώων, καὶ ξυγγενείας, καὶ κηδεστίας, καὶ ἐταιρίας (πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις), αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν, ἣ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. **22.** ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. **23.** τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριῖκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι ξυνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ ξυνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέρροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὥς οὐ χρὴ καθυ-



φίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδικη-  
κέναι, αὐτοί τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον,  
ὥς οὐδὲν δέουιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα  
οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι  
τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν  
καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέεσθαι· καὶ εἴλοντο δέκα, ἓνα  
ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

**24.** Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ  
δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει, καὶ μάλᾳ τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούν-  
των ἀλλήλοις, σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθει-  
δον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς  
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'  
ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον  
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰὲ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν τινες  
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. **25.** Οἱ δὲ, πολλοί τε ἤδη  
ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ  
οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέ-  
σθαι, πιστὰ δόντες οἵτινες ξυμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν,  
ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξήρσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται, πολλοὶ  
δὲ γυμνήτες (ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσεί ἐβδομή-  
κοντα), προνομῆς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ  
ὀπώραν, ἐκάθειδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. **26.** τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ  
ἄστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς  
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ  
τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν  
Λιξωνέων τισιν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέ-  
σφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων  
ἱππέων. **27.** ἀνταπέκτεινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱπ-  
πέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον, φυλῆς Λεοντίδος·  
καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ

ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν, καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε.

28. Περμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος, λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείησαν, ξυνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. 29. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσινάδε, ξυνελέγετο ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἰφύλαττεν, ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων, Πανσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν. 30. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων. οὗτοι δ' ἔλεγον μὲν, ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ, δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

**31.** Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πανσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ὑστεραία, λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτείχιστος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. **32.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες, καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ θέατρον. **33.** ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες, καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψилоὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. **34.** ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. Ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας, μάλα πιεσθεὶς, καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινα, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος βαθεῖαν παντελῶς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἤγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

**35.** Ο δὲ Πausanίας τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἷα χρή λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.

**36.** ἡδέως ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας Ἐφορος ὢν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεὶ δύο τῶν Ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. **37.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ὥχοντο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἃ ἔχουσι, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. **38.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἑκκλητοὶ, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπη δύναιντο κάλλιστα. Οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα· εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

**39.** Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων, Πausanίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς



ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θραυσύβουλος ἔλεξεν·

**40.** Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε, ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε; ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος, πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες, πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείῳ ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. **41.** καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίῳ κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο, ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἷ, ἔχοντες καὶ τείχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ξυμμάχους Πελοποννησίους, ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων παρελύθητε; ἄλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς; οἷ γε, ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνουσας κύνας κλοιῶ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ, οἷχονται ἀπιόντες; **42.** οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὢν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε.

Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. **43.** καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους, ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῇν· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

## III. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA.

[Hellenica, VII.]

**V. 11.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἔν τε ἰσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆει ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν πλέον μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἔνθα δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίου κατέβαινε, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινε εἰς τὴν πόλιν. **12.** τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἕξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἕξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡγείτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἐκάτον ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβὰς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείονες καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. **13.** καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μὲντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι· περιεγέγραπτο γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι ὅσου ἡ νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τρόπαιόν τε ἴστατο ἔνθα ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου.

**14.** Ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐτυχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν, τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντινείαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς

πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὐσης. **15.** Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἵππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, διελθόντες δὲ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἵππέων βοηθήσαι, εἴ τι δύναιτο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. **16.** ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθεῖη; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ὀρώντες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγεννημένου τοῖς ἵππεύσιν, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἵππεύσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυρόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μὴδὲν ὠφελήσειαν τοὺς συμμάχους, ὥς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραξαν, ἐρῶντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρίαν δόξαν. **17.** καὶ μαχόμενοι αἵτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεύσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιούτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ ὄπλον ἐκάτεροι εἶχον ὃ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὐς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν.

**18.** Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, — ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι, διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατεῖᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο λελυμασμένος, ἥττη-

μένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἵππομαχία, αἴτιος δὲ γεγενημένος, διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατείαν, τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατόν εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νικῶη, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευταίην ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν. **19.** τὸ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὡς πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντας ὅμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα εἶναι. **20.** καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης, προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἵππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἡκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.

**21.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων, σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἡγεῖτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. **22.** καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φύλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ἔλυσεν μὲν τῶν



πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευὴν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον, ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἤγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν ἐώκεσαν. **23.** Ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅπῃ ἐμβαλὼν διακόψει, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρῳ ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος, ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· **24.** ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδὴν τινες φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρώσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὥς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν δὲ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ἢ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. **25.** Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι. ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναν-

τίας φάλαγγος, οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται, οὐδὲ προήλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο· φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττώμενοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ, συννεκρῶτες τοῖς ἱππεύσιν, ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

**26.** Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, τοῦναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὗ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνεληλυθυίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχῃ ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω μὲν τρόπαιον ὡς νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυνον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ὡς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ὡς ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον. **27.** νενικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ προσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

#### IV. CHARACTER OF SOCRATES.

[Memorabilia, I.]

**I.** Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα, τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην, ὡς ἄξιός εἴη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραφὴ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιαύδε τις ἦν· —

Ἄδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν. ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, ποίῳ ποτ' ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίῳ; θύων τε γὰρ φανερός ἦν, πολλάκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλάκις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν, καὶ μαντικῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν· διετεθρύλητο γὰρ, ὡς φαίη Σωκράτης τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑαυτῷ σημαίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν. 3. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι, μαντικὴν νομίζοντες, οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις. οὗτοί τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐ τοὺς ὄρνιθας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντενομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ σημαίνειν, κακῆϊνος οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν. 4. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλείστοί φασιν ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι· Σωκράτης δὲ ὥσπερ ἐγίγνωσκεν οὕτως ἔλεγε· τὸ δαιμόνιον γὰρ ἔφη σημαίνειν. καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ξυνόντων προηγόρευε τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν, ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πειθομένοις αὐτῷ συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις μετέμελε. 5. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μήτ' ἡλίθιον μήτ' ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνουσίῳ; ἐδόκει δ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, εἰ προαγορεύων ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα εἶτα ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν. ταῦτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλω πιστεύσειεν ἢ θεῷ; πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς, πῶς οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν;

6. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐποίει καὶ τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε καὶ πράττειν, ὡς ἐνό-

μιζεν ἄριστ' ἂν πραχθῆναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο, μαντευσομένους ἔπεμπευ εἰ ποιητέα. 7. καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκήσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι. τεκτονικὸν μὲν γὰρ ἢ χαλκευτικὸν ἢ γεωργικὸν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικὸν ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐξεταστικὸν ἢ λογιστικὸν ἢ οἰκονομικὸν ἢ στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμη αἰρετέα ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. 8. τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ καλῶς ἀγρὸν φυτευσαμένῳ δῆλον ὅστις καρπώσεται· οὔτε τῷ καλῶς οἰκίαν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ δῆλον ὅστις οἰκήσει· οὔτε τῷ στρατηγικῷ δῆλον εἰ συμφέρει στρατηγεῖν· οὔτε τῷ πολιτικῷ δῆλον εἰ συμφέρει τῆς πόλεως προστατεῖν· οὔτε τῷ καλὴν γήμαντι, ἵνα εὐφραίνηται, δῆλον εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται· οὔτε τῷ δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κηδεστὰς λαβόντι δῆλον εἰ διὰ τούτους στερήσεται τῆς πόλεως. 9. τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, δαιμονῶν ἔφη· δαιμονῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευσομένους ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν· οἷον, εἴ τις ἐπερωτῇ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον ἡνιοχεῖν ἐπὶ ζευγος λαβεῖν κρεῖττον, ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον· ἢ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κρεῖττον λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον· ἢ ἃ ἔξεστιν ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας εἰδέναί, τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἀθέμιτα ποιεῖν ἡγεῖτο. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, ἃ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ, μανθάνειν· ἃ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ, πειρᾶσθαι διὰ μαντικῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ, οἷς ἂν ὧσιν ἴλεω, σημαίνειν.

10. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός γε αἰεὶ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ· πρῶ-



τε γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἦει, καὶ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰεὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν ὅπου πλείστοις μέλλοι συνέσσεσθαι· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ἐξῆν ἀκούειν. **11.** οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν, οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως, ἥπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείστοι, διελέγετο, — σκουπῶν ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔχει, καὶ τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, — ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυ.

**12.** Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει, πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἱκανῶς ἤδη τὰνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα παρέντες, τὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες, ἡγοῦνται τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν. **13.** ἐθαύμαζε δὲ εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὔρεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταῦτα δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. **14.** τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὅτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὔθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι· τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ κινεῖσθαι πάντα, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὔτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι. **15.** Ἐσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν

καὶ τάδε· ἄρ', ὥσπερ οἱ τὰνθρώπεια μαθαίνοντες ἡγούνται τοῦθ', ὅ τι ἂν μάθωσιν, ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται ποιήσῃν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὰ θεῖα ζητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπειδὴν γινώσκιν αἷς ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται, ποιήσῃν, ὅταν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ὥρας καὶ ὅτου ἂν ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων ; ἢ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς γινῶναι μόνον ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστα γίγνεται ; **16.** περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα πραγματευομένων τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀεὶ διελέγετο, σκοπῶν τί εὖσεβές, τί ἀσεβές· τί καλόν, τί αἰσχρόν· τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον· τί σωφροσύνη, τί μανία· τί ἀνδρία, τί δειλία· τί πόλις, τί πολιτικός· τί ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων, τί ἀρχικὸς ἀνθρώπων· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότες ἡγεῖτο καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποδώδεις ἂν δικαίως κεκλήσθαι.

**17.** "Οσα μὲν οὖν μὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὅπως ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραγινῶναι τοὺς δίκαστάς· ὅσα δὲ πάντες ᾗδεσαν, θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν. **18.** βουλευσας γάρ ποτε, καὶ τὸν βουλευτικὸν ὅρκον ὁμόσας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν, ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐννέα στρατηγούς μιᾷ ψήφῳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θράσυλλον καὶ Ἑρασινίδην ἀποκτείνειν πάντας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσειν, ὀργιζομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν ἀπειλούντων· ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείονος ἐποίησατο εὐορκεῖν ἢ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας. **19.** καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ὃν τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι· Σωκράτης δ' ἡγεῖτο πάντα μὲν θεοὺς εἰδέναι, τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ

σιγῇ βουλευόμενα, πανταχοῦ δὲ παρῆναι, καὶ σημαίνειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πάντων.

**20.** Θαυμάζω οὖν, ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπείσθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Σωκράτην περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ σωφρονεῖν, τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδέν ποτε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτ' εἰπόντα οὔτε πράξαντα· τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα περὶ θεῶν, οἷά τις ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων εἴη τε καὶ νομίζοιτο εὐσεβέστατος.

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[Book IV., ch. viii.]

**11.** Τῶν δὲ Σωκράτην γιγνωσκόντων οἶος ἦν, οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένοι πάντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι πάντων μάλιστα ποθοῦντες ἐκείνον, ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον ὄντα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ, τοιοῦτος ὢν οἶον ἐγὼ διήγημαι, — εὐσεβῆς μὲν οὕτως, ὥστε μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ποιεῖν· δίκαιος δὲ, ὥστε βλάπτειν μὲν μηδὲ μικρὸν μηδένα, ὠφελεῖν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς χρωμένους ἑαυτῷ· ἐγκρατὴς δὲ, ὥστε μηδέποτε προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ ἥδιον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίονος· φρόνιμος δὲ, ὥστε μὴ διαμαρτάνειν κρίνων τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ χεῖρω, μηδὲ ἄλλου προσδεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκης εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ διορίσασθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους δοκιμάσαι τε καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐξελέγχειν, καὶ προτρέψασθαι ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν, — ἐδόκει τοιοῦτος εἶναι, οἶος ἂν εἴη ἄριστός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος. εἰ δέ τῳ μὴ ἀρέσκει ταῦτα, παραβάλλων τὸ ἄλλου ἦθος πρὸς ταῦτα, οὕτω κρινέτω.

# PLATO.

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## I. SOCRATES BEFORE HIS JUDGES.

1. Οὐ πολλοῦ γ' ἔνεκα χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄνομα ἔξετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν, ὡς Σωκράτη ἀπεκτόνατε, ἄνδρα σοφόν· φήσουσι γὰρ δὴ με σοφὸν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰμὶ, οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν ὀνειδίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν περιεμείνατε ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ἂν ὑμῖν τοῦτο ἐγένετο· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτι πόρρω ἤδη ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου, θανάτου δὲ ἐγγύς. λέγω δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοῦ καταψηφισαμένους θάνατον. 2. λέγω δὲ καὶ τόδε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους· ἴσως με οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπορία λόγων ἐάλωκέναι τοιούτων οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔπεισα, εἰ ὥμην δεῖν ἅπαντα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν δίκην. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἀπορία μὲν ἐάλωκα, οὐ μέντοι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τόλμης καὶ ἀναισχυντίας καὶ τοῦ ἐθέλειν λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοιαῦτα οἷ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἥδιστ' ἦν ἀκούειν, θρηνησύντός τέ μου καὶ ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἄλλα ποιούντος καὶ λέγοντος πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι· οἷα δὲ καὶ εἴθισθε ὑμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν. 3. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε ῥήθητιν δεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου πράξαι οὐδὲν ἀνελεύθερον, οὔτε νῦν μοι μεταμέλει οὕτως ἀπολογησαμένῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον αἰροῦμαι ὧδε ἀπολογησάμενος τεθνάναι ἢ ἐκείνως ζῆν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν δίκῃ οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτ' ἐμὲ οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα δεῖ τοῦτο μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως ἀποφεύξεται πᾶν ποιῶν θάνατον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολλὰκις δῆλον γίγνεται ὅτι τό γε



ἀποθανεῖν ἂν τις ἐκφύγοι καὶ ὄπλα ἀφεῖς, καὶ ἐφ' ἱκε-  
τείαν τραπεύμενος τῶν διωκόντων· καὶ ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ  
πολλαί· εἰσιν ἐν ἐκάστοις τοῖς κινδύνοις ὥστε διαφεύγειν  
θάνατον, εἴαν τις τολμᾷ πᾶν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν. **4.** ἀλλὰ  
μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
πολὺ χαλεπώτερον πονηρίαν· θάπτει γὰρ θανάτου θεῖ.  
καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν, ἅτε βραδὺς ὢν καὶ πρεσβύτης, ὑπὸ τοῦ  
βραδυτέρου ἐάλων, οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ κατήγοροι, ἅτε δεινοὶ καὶ  
ὀξεῖς ὄντες, ὑπὸ τοῦ θάπτονος, τῆς κακίας. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ  
μὲν ἅπειμι ὑφ' ὑμῶν θανάτου δίκην ὀφλῶν, οὗτοι δ' ὑπὸ  
τῆς ἀληθείας ὀφληκότες μοχθηρίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν. καὶ ἐγώ  
τε τῷ τιμήματι ἐμμένω, καὶ οὗτοι. ταῦτα μὲν πού ἴσως  
οὕτω καὶ ἔδει σχεῖν, καὶ οἶμαι αὐτὰ μετρίως ἔχειν.

**5.** Τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶ ὑμῖν χρησμοδεῖσαι, ὃ  
καταψηφισάμενοί μου· καὶ γὰρ εἰμι ἤδη ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ᾧ  
μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησμοδοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθα-  
νεῖσθαι. φημί γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε, τιμωρίαν  
ὑμῖν ἤξειν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον πολὺ χαλεπωτέ-  
ραν, νῆ Δί', ἣ οἶαν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰργά-  
σασθε, οἰόμενοι μὲν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τοῦ διδόναι ἔλεγχον τοῦ  
βίου· τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν πολὺ ἐναντίον ἀποβήσεται, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι.

**6.** πλείους ἔσονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἐλέγχοντες, οὓς νῦν ἐγὼ κατεῖ-  
χον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἠσθάνεσθε· καὶ χαλεπώτεροι ἔσονται  
ὅσῳ νεώτεροί εἰσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἀγανακτήσετε. εἰ  
γὰρ οἴεσθε, ἀποκτείνοντες ἀνθρώπους, ἐπισχῆσειν τοῦ  
ὄνειδίζεσθαι τινὰ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ζῆτε, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δια-  
νοεῖσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐστ' αὕτη ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ οὔτε πάνυ δυνατὴ  
οὔτε καλὴ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη καὶ καλλίστη καὶ ῥάστη, μὴ τοὺς  
ἄλλους κολοῦειν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ἔσται  
ὡς βέλτιστος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις  
μαντευσάμενος ἀπαλλάττομαι.

7. Τοῖς δὲ ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἡδέως ἂν διαλεχθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος τουτουῖ πράγματος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀσχολίαν ἄγουσι, καὶ οὐπω ἔρχομαι οἱ ἐλθόντα με δεῖ τεθνάναι. ἀλλὰ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, παραμείνατε τοσούτον χρόνον· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει διαμυθολογῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἕως ἔξεστιν. ὑμῖν γὰρ ὡς φίλοις οὖσιν ἐπιδείξαι ἐθέλω τὸ νυνὶ μοι ξυμβεβηκὸς τί ποτε νοεῖ. 8. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δικασταί — ὑμᾶς γὰρ δικαστὰς καλῶν ὀρθῶς ἂν καλοῖν — θαυμάσιόν τι γέγονεν. ἡ γὰρ εἰωθυῖά μοι μαντικὴ, ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παντὶ πάνυ πυκνὴ αἰεὶ ἦν, καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς ἐναντιούμενη, εἴ τι μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξειν· νυνὶ δὲ ξυμβέβηκέ μοι, ἅπερ ὁρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ, ταυτὶ ἅ γε δὴ οἰηθεῖν ἂν τις καὶ νομίζεται ἔσχατα κακῶν εἶναι. 9. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε ἐξιόντι ἔωθεν οἴκοθεν ἡναντιώθη τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, οὔτε ἡνίκα ἀνέβαινον ἐνταυθοῖ ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, οὔτ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐδαμοῦ μέλλοντί τι ἑρεῖν· καίτοι ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις πολλαχοῦ δὴ με ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξὺ· νυνὶ δὲ οὐδαμοῦ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν οὔτ' ἐν ἔργῳ οὐδενὶ οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἡναντιώταί μοι. 10. τί οὖν αἴτιον εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω; ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ· κινδυνεύει γάρ μοι τὸ ξυμβεβηκὸς τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ὅσοι οἰόμεθα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ τεθνάναι. μέγα μοι τεκμήριον τούτου γέγονεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἡναντιώθη ἂν μοι τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον, εἰ μὴ τι ἔμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξειν.

11. Ἐννοήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῇδε, ὥς πολλὴ ἐλπίς ἐστίν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστι τὸ τεθνάναι· ἡ γὰρ οἶον μὴδὲν εἶναι, μὴδ' αἰσθησιν μὴδεμίαν μὴδενὸς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἡ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα μεταβολὴ τις τυγχάνει οὖσα, καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον. 12. Καὶ εἴτε μὴδεμία αἰσθησίς

ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ὕπνος ἐπειδάν τις καθεύδων μῆδ' ὄναρ μῆδ' ὄρα, θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἂν εἴη ὁ θάνατος. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι, εἴ τινα ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἐν ᾗ οὕτω κατέδαρθεν ὥστε μῆδ' ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιπαραθέντα ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ δέοι σκεψάμενον εἰπεῖν, πόσας ἄμεινον καὶ ἥδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ, οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι ἰδιώτην τινὰ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας. **13.** εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἐστι, κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλείων ὁ πᾶς χρόνος φαίνεται οὕτω δὴ εἶναι ἢ μία νύξ. Εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημῆσαι ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθὲνδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ ἀληθὴ ἐστὶ τὰ λεγόμενα, ὥς ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τεθνεῶτες, τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου εἴη ἂν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί; **14.** εἰ γάρ τις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἄιδου, ἀπαλλαγείς τούτων τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι, εὐρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστὰς, οἵπερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν, — Μίνως τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ Αἰακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῶν ἡμιθέων δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῶν βίῳ. — Ἄρα φαῦλη ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀποδημία; ἢ αὖ Ὀρφεὶ ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἂν τις δέξαιτ' ἂν ὑμῶν; **15.** ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἐθέλω τεθνάναι, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθὴ· ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμαστὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὅποτε ἐντύχοιμι Παλαμῆδει καὶ Αἴαντι τῷ Τελαμῶνος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον τέθνηκεν, ἀντιπαραβάλλουσι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀηδὲς εἴη. Καὶ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν σοφός ἐστι, καὶ τίς οἶεται μὲν ἔστι δ' οὔ. **16.** ἐπὶ πόσῳ δ' ἂν τις, ὃ ἄνδρες

δικασταὶ, δέξαιτο ἐξετάσαι τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀγαγόντα τὴν πολλὴν στρατιάν, ἢ Ὀδυσσέα, ἢ Σίσυφον, ἢ ἄλλους μυρίους ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας; οἷς ἐκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ξυνεῖναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη εὐδαιμονίας. πάντως οὐ δῆπου τούτου γε ἕνεκα οἱ ἐκεῖ ἀποκτείνουσι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονέστεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀθάνατοί εἰσιν, εἴπερ γε τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ ἔστιν.

**17.** Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χρῆ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἓν τι τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι, οὐδὲ ἀμελείται ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τούτου πράγματα· οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ μοι δῆλόν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἤδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμὲ οὐδαμοῦ ἀπέτρεψε τὸ σημεῖον, καὶ ἔγωγε τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς οὐ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω. καίτοι οὐ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεψηφίζοντό μου καὶ κατηγοροῦν, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν· τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἄξιον μέμφεσθαι. **18.** Τοσόνδε μέντοι αὐτῶν δέομαι· τοὺς υἱεῖς μου, ἐπειδὰν ἡβήσωσι, τιμωρήσασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ταῦτα ταῦτα λυποῦντες ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐλύπων, ἐὰν ὑμῖν δοκῶσιν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλου τοῦ πρότερον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐὰν δοκῶσί τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες, ὀνειδίζετε αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται ὧν δεῖ, καὶ οἶονταί τι εἶναι ὄντες οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι. καὶ ἐὰν ταῦτα ποιήτε, δίκαια πεπονθὼς ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ υἱεῖς.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ὥρα ἀπιέναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποθανουμένῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ βιωσομένοις· ὁπότεροι δὲ ἡμῶν ἔρχονται ἐπὶ ἄμεινον πρᾶγμα, ἄδηλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ θεῷ.



## II. THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

[Phaedo, I. - V.; LXIII. - LXVI.]

1. *Εχεκράτης.* Αὐτὸς, ὦ Φαίδων, παρεγένου Σωκράτει ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ τὸ φάρμακον ἔπιεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ἢ ἄλλου του ἡκουσας ;

*Φαίδων.* Αὐτὸς, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες.

*Ε.* Τί οὖν δὴ ἐστὶν ἅττα εἶπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου ; καὶ πῶς ἐτελεύτα ; ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν ἐγὼ ἀκούσαιμι. καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν Φλιασίων οὐδεὶς πάννυ τι ἐπιχωριάζει τὰ νῦν Ἀθήναζε, οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφίκεται χρόνου συχνοῦ ἐκεῖθεν, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἴός τ' ἦν περὶ τούτων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι φάρμακον πιὼν ἀποθάνοι. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἶχε φράζειν.

2. *Φ.* Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἄρα ἐπύθεσθε ὃν τρόπον ἐγένετο ;

*Ε.* Ναί, ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡγγειλέ τις, καὶ ἐθαυμάζομέν γε ὅτι, πάλαι γενομένης αὐτῆς, πολλῶ ὕστερον φαίνεται ἀποθανών. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο, ὦ Φαίδων ;

*Φ.* Τύχῃ τις αὐτῷ, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, συνέβη. ἔτυχε γὰρ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης ἢ πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη τοῦ πλοίου, ὃ εἰς Δῆλον Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπουσιν.

*Ε.* Τοῦτο δὲ δὴ τί ἐστὶν ;

3. *Φ.* Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πλοῖον, ὥς φασιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ᾧ Θησεύς ποτε εἰς Κρήτην τοὺς δις ἐπτὰ ἐκείνους ὥχετο ἄγων, καὶ ἔσωσέ τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη. τῷ οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι εὖξαντο, ὥς λέγεται, τότε, εἰ σωθεῖεν, ἐκάστου ἔτους θεωρίαν ἀπάξειν εἰς Δῆλον. ἦν δὲ αἰὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐξ ἐκείνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ πέμπουσιν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἄρξωνται τῆς θεωρίας, νόμος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καθαρεύειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἀποκτινύναι, πρὶν

ἂν εἰς Δῆλον ἀφίκηται τὸ πλοῖον καὶ πάλιν δεῦρο · τοῦτο δ' ἐνίοτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ γίγνεται, ὅταν τύχῳσιν ἄνεμοι ἀπολαβόντες αὐτούς. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς θεωρίας, ἐπειδὴν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος στέψῃ τὴν πρύμναν τοῦ πλοίου · τοῦτο δ' ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ λέγω, τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης γεγονός. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πολὺς χρόνος ἐγένετο τῷ Σωκράτει ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς δίκης τε καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.

4. Ε. Τί δὲ δὴ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον, ὦ Φαίδων; τίνα ἦν τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ πραχθέντα, καὶ τίνες οἱ παραγενόμενοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῷ ἀνδρὶ; ἢ οὐκ εἶων οἱ ἄρχοντες παρεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἔρημος ἐτελεύτα φίλων;

Φ. Οὐδαμῶς · ἀλλὰ παρῆσαν τινες, καὶ πολλοὶ γε.

Ε. Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα προθυμήθητι ὡς σαφέστατα ἡμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, εἰ μὴ τίς σοι ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὔσα.

Φ. Ἀλλὰ σχολάζω γε, καὶ πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσθαι · καὶ γὰρ τὸ μεμνηῆσθαι Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ἄλλον ἀκούοντα ἔμοιγε αἰεὶ πάντων ἡδιστον.

Ε. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὦ Φαίδων, καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους γε τοιούτους ἐτέρους ἔχεις · ἀλλὰ πειρῶ ὡς ἂν δύνῃ ἀκριβέστατα διελθεῖν πάντα.

5. Φ. Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε θαυμάσια ἔπαθον παραγενόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς θανάτῳ παρόντα με ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου ἔλεος εἰσῆι. εὐδαίμων γάρ μοι ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων, ὡς ἀδεῶς καὶ γενναίως ἐτελεύτα, ὥστε μοι ἐκείνον παρίστασθαι μὴδ' εἰς Αἶδου ἰόντα ἄνευ θείας μοίρας ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ κἀκέισε ἀφικόμενον εὖ πράξειν, εἴπερ τις πώποτε καὶ ἄλλος. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα οὐδὲν πάνυ μοι ἐλεεινὸν εἰσῆι, ὡς εἰκὸς ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι παρόντι πένθει. οὔτε αὖ ἡδονὴ ὡς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἡμῶν ὄντων, ὥσπερ εἰώθειμεν · καὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγοι τοιοῦτοί τινες ἦσαν · ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς ἄτοπόν τί μοι πάθος παρῆν, καί

τις ἀήθης κρᾶσις ἀπό τε τῆς ἡδονῆς συγκεκραμένη ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνος ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν. καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες σχεδόν τι οὕτω διεκείμεθα, ὅτε μὲν γελῶντες, ἐνίοτε δὲ δακρύνοντες, εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ διαφερόντως, Ἀπολλόδωρος· οἶσθα γάρ που τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ.

6. Ε. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

Φ. Ἐκεῖνός τε τοίνυν παντάπασιν οὕτως εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἐτεταράγμην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

Ε. Ἐτυχον δέ, ὦ Φαίδων, τίνες παραγενόμενοι;

Φ. Οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρῆν, καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ [Κρίτων], καὶ ἔτι Ἑρμογένης καὶ Ἐπιγένης καὶ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ἀντισθένης· ἦν δὲ καὶ Κτήσιππος ὁ Παιανιεύς, καὶ Μενέξενος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· Πλάτων δέ, οἶμαι, ἡσθένει.

Ε. Ἔενοι δέ τινες παρῆσαν;

Φ. Ναὶ, Σιμμίας τέ γε ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Κέβης καὶ Φαιδωνίδης, καὶ Μεγαρόθεν Εὐκλείδης τε καὶ Τερψίων.

Ε. Τί δέ; Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Κλεόμβροτος παρεγένοντο;

Φ. Οὐ δῆτα· ἐν Αἰγίνῃ γὰρ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι.

Ε. Ἄλλος δέ τις παρῆν;

Φ. Σχεδόν τι οἶμαι τούτους παραγενέσθαι.

Ε. Τί οὖν δῆ; τίνες, φῆς, ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι;

7. Φ. Ἐγὼ σοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάντα πειράσομαι διηγῆσασθαι. αἰὲ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἡμέρας εἰώθειμεν φοιτᾶν, καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, συλλεγόμενοι ἔωθεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ δίκη ἐγένετο· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου. περιεμένομεν οὖν ἐκάστοτε, ἕως ἀνοιχθείη τὸ δεσμωτήριον, διατρίβοντες μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἀνεώγετο γὰρ οὐ πρῶ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνοιχθείη,

εἰσήμεν παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ διημερεύομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πρωϊαίτερον ξυνελέγημεν. τῇ γὰρ προτεραίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξήλθομεν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἐσπέρας, ἐπυθόμεθα ὅτι τὸ πλοῖον ἐκ Δήλου ἀφιγμένον εἴη. παρηγγείλαμεν οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἥκειν ὡς πρωϊαίτατα εἰς τὸ εἰώθος. 8. καὶ ἥκομεν, καὶ ἡμῖν ἐξελθὼν ὁ θυρωρὸς, ὅσπερ εἰώθει ὑπακούειν, εἶπε περιμένειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον παρίεναι, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς κελεύσῃ· λύουσι γάρ, ἔφη, οἱ ἑνδεκα Σωκράτη καὶ παραγγέλλουσιν, ὅπως ἂν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσῃ. οὐ πολὺν δ' οὖν χρόνον ἐπισχὼν, ἦκε καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἡμᾶς εἰσιέναι. εἰσιόντες οὖν καταλαμβάνομεν τὸν μὲν Σωκράτη ἄρτι λελυμένον, τὴν δὲ Ξανθίππην — γινώσκεις γάρ — ἔχουσάν τε τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ καὶ παρακαθημένην. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ἡμᾶς ἡ Ξανθίππη, ἀνευφήμησέ τε καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἅττα εἶπεν, οἷα δὴ εἰώθασιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ὅτι ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅστατον δὴ σε προσερούσι νῦν οἱ ἐπιτήδαιοι, καὶ σὺ τούτους. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, βλέψας εἰς τὸν Κρίτωνα, ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, ἀπαγέτω τις αὐτὴν οἴκαδε. καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν ἀπήγόν τινες τῶν τοῦ Κρίτωνος βοῶσάν τε καὶ κοπτομένην. 9. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης, ἀνακαθιζόμενος εἰς τὴν κλίνην, συνέκαμψέ τε τὸ σκέλος καὶ ἐξέτριψε τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ τρίβων ἅμα, ὦς ἄτοπον, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔοικέ τι εἶναι τοῦτο, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἡδύ· ὡς θαυμασίως πέφυκε πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐναντίον εἶναι, τὸ λυπηρὸν, τῷ ἅμα μὲν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν παραγίγνεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰ δέ τις διώκῃ τὸ ἕτερον καὶ λαμβάνῃ, σχεδὸν τι ἀναγκάζεσθαι λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον, ὅσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένῳ δὴ ὄντε. καί μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, εἰ ἐνενόησεν αὐτὰ Αἴσωπος, μῦθον ἂν συνθεῖναι, ὡς ὁ θεὸς βουλόμενος αὐτὰ διαλλάξαι πολεμοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἡδύνατο, ξυνήψεν εἰς ταῦτόν αὐτοῖς τὰς κορυφὰς, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὦ



ἂν τὸ ἕτερον παραγένηται, ἐπακολουθεῖ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον. ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔοικεν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἦν ἐν τῷ σκέλει πρότερον τὸ ἀλγεινόν, ἤκειν δὴ φαίνεται ἐπακολουθοῦν τὸ ἡδύ.

**10.** Ὁ οὖν Κέβης ὑπολαβὼν, Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με. περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν πεποίηκας, ἐντείνας τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές με ἤδη ἤρουντο· ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐνῆος πρώην, ὃ τι ποτὲ διανοηθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθες, ἐποίησας αὐτὰ, πρότερον οὐδὲν πώποτε ποιήσας. εἰ οὖν τί σοι μέλει τοῦ ἔχειν ἐμὲ Εὐνῆν ἁποκρίνασθαι ὅταν με αἰθίς ἐρωτᾷ (εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐρήσεται), εἶπε τί χρή με λέγειν. **11.** Λέγε τοῖνυν, ἔφη, αὐτῷ, ὦ Κέβης, τάληθῇ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκείνῳ βουλόμενος οὐδὲ τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι ἐποίησα ταῦτα· ἦδειν γὰρ ὡς οὐ ῥάδιον εἶη· ἀλλ' ἐνυπνίων τινῶν ἀποπειρώμενος τί λέγει, καὶ ἀφοσιούμενος εἰ ἄρα πολλάκις ταύτην τὴν μουσικὴν μοι ἐπιτάττοι ποιεῖν. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἅττα τοιαῦδε· πολλάκις μοι φοιτῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι βίῳ, ἄλλοτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ὄψει φαινόμενον, τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ λέγον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, μουσικὴν ποιεῖ καὶ ἐργάζου. **12.** καὶ ἐγὼ ἔν γε τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, ὅπερ ἔπραττον τοῦτο ὑπελάμβανον αὐτό μοι παρακελεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπικελεύειν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς θεοῦσι διακελεύόμενοι· καὶ ἐμοὶ οὕτω τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὅπερ ἔπραττον τοῦτο ἐπικελεύειν, μουσικὴν ποιεῖν, ὡς φιλοσοφίας μὲν οὔσης μεγίστης μουσικῆς, ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτοντος· νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἢ τε δίκη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐορτὴ διεκώλυέ με ἀποθνήσκειν, ἔδοξε χρῆναι, εἰ ἄρα πολλάκις μοι προστάττοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ταύτην τὴν δημῶδη μουσικὴν ποιεῖν, μὴ ἀπειθῆσαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν. ἀσφαλέστερον γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀπιέναι πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι

ποιήσαντα ποιήματα, καὶ πειθόμενον τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ. **13.** οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα, οὗ ἦν ἡ παρούσα θυσία· μετὰ δὲ τὸν θεὸν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν δέοι, εἴπερ μέλλοι ποιητὴς εἶναι, ποιεῖν μύθους ἄλλ' οὐ λόγους, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἦ μυθολογικός, διὰ ταῦτα δὴ οὐς προχείρους εἶχον καὶ ἡπιστάμην μύθους τοὺς Αἰσώπου, τούτους ἐποίησα — οἷς πρῶτοις ἐνέτυχον. ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ Κέβης, Εὐνὴν φράζε, καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, καὶ ἂν σωφρονῇ, ἐμὲ διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα. ἅπειμι δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, τήμερον· κελεύουσι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι.

**14.** Καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας, Οἶον παρακελεύει, ἔφη, τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες, Εὐνὴν; πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ἐντετύχηκα τῷ ἀνδρὶ· σχεδὸν οὖν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ ἤσθημαι, οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν σοι ἐκὼν εἶναι πείσεται. Τί δαί; ἢ δ' ὅς· οὐ φιλόσοφος Εὐνὸς; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίας. Ἐθελήσει τοίνυν, ἔφη, καὶ Εὐνὸς καὶ πᾶς ὅτῳ ἀξίως τούτου τοῦ πράγματος μέτεστιν. οὐ μέντοι γ' ἴσως βιάσεται αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ φασι θεμιτὸν εἶναι. **15.** Καὶ ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα καθῆκε τὰ σκέλη [ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ καθεζόμενος οὕτως ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ διελέγετο. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Κέβης· Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν βιάζεσθαι, ἐθέλειν δ' ἂν τῷ ἀποθνήσκοντι τὸν φιλόσοφον ἔπεσθαι; Τί δὲ, ὦ Κέβης; οὐκ ἀκηκόατε σύ τε καὶ Σιμμίας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, Φιλολάῳ συγγεγονότες; Οὐδέν γε σαφῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῶν λέγω· ἃ μὲν οὖν τυγχάνω ἀκηκοὺς, φθόνος οὐδεὶς λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ἴσως καὶ μάλιστα πρέπει, μέλλοντα ἐκείσε ἀποδημεῖν, διασκοπεῖν τε καὶ μυθολογεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας τῆς ἐκεῖ, ποῖαν τινὰ αὐτὴν οἰόμεθα εἶναι· τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ ποιοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ μέχρι ἡλίου δυσμῶν χρόνῳ;

**16.** Ἀλλὰ τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα χρὴ ὧν διεληλύθαμεν, ὦ Σιμμία, πᾶν ποιεῖν, ὥστε ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ βίῳ μετασχεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλον, καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμμία τε καὶ Κέβης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰσαυθις ἐν τινι χρόνῳ ἕκαστοι πορεύσεσθε· ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικὸς, ἢ εἰμαρμένη, καὶ σχεδόν τί μοι ὥρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν· δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν.

**17.** Ταῦτα δὴ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κρίτων, Εἴεν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· τί δὲ τούτοις ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐπιστέλλεις, ἢ περὶ τῶν παίδων ἢ περὶ ἄλλου του, ὅ τι ἂν σοι ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ἐν χάριτι μάλιστα ποιοῖμεν; Ἄπερ αἰὲν λέγω, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, οὐδὲν καινότερον· ὅτι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι ὑμεῖς, καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν χάριτι ποιήσετε ἅττ' ἂν ποιῆτε, καὶ μὴ νῦν ὁμολογήσητε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμελήητε, καὶ μὴ θέλητε, ὥσπερ κατ' ἴχνη, κατὰ τὰ νῦν τε εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ζῆν, οὐδ' εἰ πολλὰ ὁμολογήσητε ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ σφόδρα, οὐδὲν πλεόν ποιήσετε. **18.** Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν προθυμηθησόμεθα, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖν· θάπτωμεν δέ σε τίνα τρόπον; Ὅπως ἂν, ἔφη, βούλησθε, εἴανπερ γε λάβητέ με, καὶ μὴ ἐκφύγω ὑμᾶς. γελάσας δὲ ἅμα ἡσυχῇ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέψας, εἶπεν· Οὐ πείθω, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, Κρίτωνα, ὥς ἐγὼ εἶμι οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ νυνὶ διαλεγόμενος καὶ διατάττων ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλ' οἶεταί με ἐκείνον εἶναι, ὃν ὄψεται ὀλίγον ὕστερον νεκρὸν, καὶ ἐρωτᾷ δὴ πῶς με θάπτῃ. ὅτι δὲ ἐγὼ πάλαι πολλὸν λόγον πεποιήμαι, ὥς, ἐπειδὰν πίω τὸ φάρμακον, οὐκέτι ὑμῖν παραμηνῶ, ἀλλ' οἰχήσομαι ἀπὶ τῶν εἰς μακάρων δὴ τινος εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτά μοι δοκῶ αὐτῷ ἄλλως λέγειν, παραμυθοῦ-

μενος ἅμα μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἅμα δ' ἑμαυτόν. **19.** ἐγγυήσασθε οὖν με πρὸς Κρίτωνα, ἔφη, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐγγύην ἢ ἣν οὗτος πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἠγγυᾶτο. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἢ μὴν παραμενεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ μὴν μὴ παραμενεῖν ἐγγυήσασθε, ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνω, ἀλλὰ οἰχήσεσθαι ἀπιόντα, ἵνα Κρίτων ῥᾶον φέρῃ, καὶ μὴ ὀρών μου τὸ σῶμα ἢ καιόμενον ἢ κατορυττόμενον ἀγανακτῇ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοντος, μηδὲ λέγῃ ἐν τῇ ταφῇ, ὡς ἢ προτίθεται Σωκράτῃ ἢ ἐκφέρει ἢ κατορύττει. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ἢ δ' ὅς, ὦ ἄριστε Κρίτων, τὸ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν οὐ μόνον εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πλημμελὲς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακόν τι ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε χρὴ, καὶ φάναι τοῦμόν σῶμα θάπτειν, καὶ θάπτειν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν σοι φίλον ᾖ, καὶ μάλιστα ἡγῇ νόμιμον εἶναι.

**20.** Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀνίστατο εἰς οἴκημά τι ὡς λουσόμενος, καὶ ὁ Κρίτων εἶπετο αὐτῷ, ἡμᾶς δ' ἐκέλευε περιμένειν. περιεμένομεν οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαλεγόμενοι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ ἀνασκοποῦντες, τοτὲ δ' αὖ περὶ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς διεξιόντες, ὅση ἡμῖν γεγонуῖα εἴη, ἀτεχνῶς ἡγούμενοι ὥσπερ πατρὸς στερηθέντες διάξιν ὀρφανοὶ τὸν ἔπειτα βίον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐλούσατο, καὶ ἠνέχθη παρ' αὐτὸν τὰ παιδιά — δύο γὰρ αὐτῷ υἱεῖς σμικροὶ ἦσαν, εἰς δὲ μέγας — καὶ αἱ οἰκεῖαι γυναῖκες ἀφίκοντο, ἐκείναις ἐναντίον τοῦ Κρίτωνος διαλεχθεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιστείλας ἅττα ἐβούλετο, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦκε παρ' ἡμᾶς.

**21.** Καὶ ἦν ἤδη ἐγγὺς ἡλίου δυσμῶν· χρόνον γὰρ πολλὸν διέτριψεν ἔνδον. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκαθέζετο λελουμένος, καὶ οὐ πόλλ' ἅττα μετὰ ταῦτα διελέχθη· καὶ ἦκεν ὁ τῶν ἑνδεκα ὑπηρέτης, καὶ στὰς παρ' αὐτὸν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὐ καταγνώσομαι σοῦ ὅπερ ἄλλων καταγιγνώσκω, ὅτι μοι χαλεπαίνουνσι καὶ καταρῶνται, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλω



πίνειν τὸ φάρμακον, ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν ἀρχόντων. σὲ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλως ἔγνωκα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γενναιότατον καὶ πραότατον καὶ ἄριστον ἄνδρα ὄντα τῶν πώποτε δεῦρο ἀφικομένων· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν εἴ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνεις, γιγνώσκεις γὰρ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις. νῦν οὖν, οἶσθα γὰρ ἃ ἦλθον ἀγγέλλων, χαῖρέ τε καὶ πειρῶ ὡς ῥᾶστα φέρειν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. καὶ ἅμα δακρύσας μεταστρεφόμενος ἀπῆει. **22.** Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν, Καὶ σὺ, ἔφη, χαῖρε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ποιήσομεν. καὶ ἅμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Ὡς ἀστεῖος, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ παρὰ πάντα μοι τὸν χρόνον προσήει, καὶ διελέγετο ἐνίοτε, καὶ ἦν ἀνδρῶν λῶστος, καὶ νῦν ὡς γενναίως με ἀποδακρύει. ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Κρίτων, πειθώμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ φάρμακον, εἰ τέτριπται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τριψάτω ὁ ἄνθρωπος. **23.** καὶ ὁ Κρίτων, Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔτι ἥλιον εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι, καὶ οὐπω δεδυκέναι. καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ ἄλλους πάνυ ὁψὲ πίνοντας, ἐπειδὰν παραγγεληῇ αὐτοῖς, δειπνήσαντάς τε καὶ πιόντας εἶ μάλα. — ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἐπείγου· ἔτι γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Εἰκότως γ', ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, ἐκείνοί τε ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, οὓς σὺ λέγεις, οἷονται γὰρ κερδανεῖν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἔγωγε ταῦτα εἰκότως οὐ ποιήσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶμαι κερδαίνειν ὀλίγον ὕστερον πιὼν, ἄλλο γε ἢ γέλωτα ὀφλήσειν παρ' ἐμαυτῷ, γλιχόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, καὶ φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐνόντος. ἀλλ' ἴθι, ἔφη, πιθοῦ καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποίει.

**24.** Καὶ ὁ Κρίτων ἀκούσας ἔνευσε τῷ παιδὶ πλησίον ἐστῶτι, καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐξελθὼν, καὶ σύχνον χρόνον διατρίψας, ἦκεν ἄγων τὸν μέλλοντα διδόναι τὸ φάρμακον, ἐν κύλικι φέροντα τετριμμένον· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Σωκράτης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Εἶεν, ἔφη, ὦ βέλτιστε, σὺ γὰρ τούτων ἐπιστήμων, τί χρή ποιεῖν; Οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἔφη, ἢ πιόντα περιμέναι, ἕως ἂν σον

βάρος ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι γένηται, ἔπειτα κατακεῖσθαι· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἅμα ὥρεξε τὴν κύλικα τῷ Σωκράτει. **25.** καὶ ὃς λαβὼν, καὶ μάλα ἱλεως, ὧ Ἐχέκρατες, οὐδὲν τρέσας, οὐδὲ διαφθείρας οὔτε τοῦ χρώματος οὔτε τοῦ προσώπου, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Τί λέγεις, ἔφη, περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πόματος πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπείσαι τι; ἔξεστιν, ἢ οὐ; Τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, ὧ Σώκρατες, τρίβομεν, ὅσον οἰόμεθα μέτριον εἶναι πιεῖν. Μανθάνω, ἢ δ' ὅς· ἀλλ' εὐχεσθαί γέ που τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξεστί τε καὶ χρή, τὴν μετοίκησιν τὴν ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε εὐτυχῇ γενέσθαι· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ εὐχομαί τε καὶ γένοιτο ταύτῃ· καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν ταῦτα, ἐπισχόμενος καὶ μάλα εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἐξέπιε.

**26.** Καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τέως μὲν ἐπιεικῶς οἰοί τε ἦσαν κατέχειν τὸ μὴ δακρύειν· ὥς δὲ εἶδομεν πίνοντά τε καὶ πεπωκότα, οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ γε βία καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστακτὶ ἐχῶρει τὰ δάκρυα, ὥστε ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἀπέκλαιον ἐμαυτόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνόν γε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην, οἷου ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου ἐστερημένος εἶην. ὁ δὲ Κρίτων ἔτι πρότερος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα, ἐξανέστη. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐπαύετο δακρύων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀναβρυχησάμενος κλαίων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν οὐδένα ὄντινα οὐ κατέκλασε τῶν παρόντων, πλήν γε αὐτοῦ Σωκράτους. ἐκείνος δὲ, Οἶα, ἔφη, ποιεῖτε, ὧ θαυμάσιοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέπεμψα, ἵνα μὴ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀκήκοα, ὅτι ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χρή τελευτᾶν. ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν τε ἄγετε καὶ καρτερεῖτε. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντες ἡσυχύνημέν τε καὶ ἐπέσχομεν τοῦ δακρύειν. **27.** Ὁ δὲ περιελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ βαρύνεσθαι ἔφη τὰ σκέλη, κατεκλίθη ὑπτίος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκέλευεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος·

καὶ ἅμα ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ οὗτος ὁ δοὺς τὸ φάρμακον, διαλιπὼν χρόνον ἐπεσκόπει τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη, καῖπειτα σφόδρα πιέσας αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, ἤρετο εἰ αἰσθάνοιτο· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐθις τὰς κνήμας· καὶ ἐπανιῶν οὕτως ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ψύχοιτό τε καὶ πηγνύοιτο. καὶ αὐτὸς ἤπτετο, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν πρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ γένηται αὐτῷ, τότε οἰχήσεται. ἤδη οὖν σχεδόν τι αὐτοῦ ἦν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἥτρον ψυχόμενα, καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος, ἐνεκεκάλυπτο γὰρ, εἶπεν, — ὁ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐφθέγγετο, — ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἀλλ' ἀπόδοτε καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσητε. 28. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἔσται, ὁ Κρίτων· ἀλλ' ὅρα, εἴ τι ἄλλο λέγεις. ταῦτα ἐρομένου αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλιπὼν, ἐκινήθη τε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξεκάλυψεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὃς τὰ ὄμματα ἔστησεν· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Κρίτων ξυνέλαβε τὸ στόμα τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

Ἦδε ἡ τελευτὴ, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, τοῦ ἐταίρου ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ἄνδρὸς, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἂν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστου, καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου καὶ δικαιοτάτου.

# HERODOTUS.

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## I. INVASION OF GREECE BY DARIUS.

1. Βασιλείϊ δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εἶρεσθαι οἷτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἰστὸν, ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἥερα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι· εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ, ἐς τρὶς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν, Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

2. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅ τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἑωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλείῃ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι. 3. Οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προῖσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσαντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται. ποιήσασι δέ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέκείατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδω-



κέναι, ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται. καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτούντες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας.

4. Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐποίεε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστελλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας. Δατίν τε ἑόντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνηα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἐωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε, ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἀγαγεῖν ἐωυτῷ εἰς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

5. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἔπλουν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας ἐποίησαν· καὶ, ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι, καὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στῆσαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος. 6. οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσουνήσου, καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόου θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου, περὶ πολ-

λοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους, στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

7. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετώντα· τῷ δὲ (ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε) περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βώσαντα δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω, τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, διότι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται, ἔοντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου ἤδη σφι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετέησι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται. 8. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῶν δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται, καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα. Ὁ μὲν δὲ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἑαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον·

ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτῃ, εἰνάτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον.

9. Τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιγόνδε· ἔδοκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου, κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, τελευτήσῃεν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα· 10. τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὥς ἐώθεε, οἷα δέ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἑόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσεῖοντο. τούτων ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουνδὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· Ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δέ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει. Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι.

11. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. πιεζόμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδονσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἕκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέο-

μεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρῇ· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίαν οὗτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι.

**12.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δωδέκα θεοῖσι, ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφι ἐβοήθειον. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες, ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων, οὗρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοισίδε, ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.

**13.** Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοὶ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο οὔρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

**14.** Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γυνῶμαι· τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐώντων συμβάλλειν, ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων. ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἐνῖκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα (ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδόφορος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν, τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρα-



τηγοῖσι, ἣν τε τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος) πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· **15.** Ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας, ἡ ἐλευθέρως ποιήσαντα, μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππῆ· ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν γενέσθαι. κὼς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κὼς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐόντων δέκα, δίχᾳ γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελεύόντων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβαλεῖν. ἦν μὲν νῦν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασεῖσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, οἰοί τέ εἰμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἡρτῆται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. **16.** Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον. προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανιή τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδην παρεδίδουσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὐ τί κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανιή ἐγένετο.

**17.** Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος

ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου, ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἡριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ σφί τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύριος τὰς ἐν τῇσι πενταετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ, τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιούνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιαι ὀλίγαι, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει. **18.** Ὡς δὲ σφί διετέτακτο, καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι· μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπίφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι καὶ τὸ οὐνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκούσαι. **19.** Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοῖ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ

κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες. νικῶν-  
τες δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων,  
τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν, συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα  
ἀμφοτέρα, ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ  
τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτουντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

**20.** Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλ-  
λίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε  
τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέ-  
γειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων  
νεὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι  
Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοί. **21.** Ἐπτα μὲν δὴ  
τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇσι δὲ  
λοιπῇσι οἱ Βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες  
ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον, τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀνδράποδα,  
περιέπλων Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτία δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ  
Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τού-  
τους γὰρ, συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα  
εὐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. **22.** οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλων  
Σούνιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον  
ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβά-  
ρους ἦκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου  
τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ.  
οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου (τού-  
το γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων), ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνα-  
κωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

**23.** Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν  
βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας,  
Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμ-  
φοτέρων τοσοῦτοι· συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι

τοιόνδε· Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω, ἐν τῇ συστάσι μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τῶν ὀμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ πάθος τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φάσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

24. Λακεδαιμονίῳ δὲ ἦκόν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω, ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὅμως θήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

## II. MARCH OF XERXES. — PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἑκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρῆχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελιομένων, ἡ



Ἀσίῃ ἐδουέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 2. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς δέει μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος Ξέρξεα, ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα. 3. Καὶ Ξέρξης . . ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ εἰς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ εἰς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σιτά τε καὶ νέας. 4. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλωόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα εἰς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεις, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμεόμενοι ὥρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὥρυσσον δὲ καὶ

οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ οὖρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ οὖρος, χερσονησοειδές τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δυνώδεκα σταδίων, πεδίου δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. **5.** Ὀρυσσον δε ὧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο βαθέα ἢ διῶρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὠρυσσον, ἔτεροι δὲ παρεδίδουσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω, οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγένετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δέ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένος. **6.** ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρέον γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νεάς διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ, εὐρὸς ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλώειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

**7.** Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἶρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν.

**8.** Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τρηχέα εἰς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον. εἰς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὀρμεόμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου εἰς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. **9.** ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς, καὶ κατεῖναι εἰς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοις ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὦν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς εἰσὶν δολερῶ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῶ ποταμῶ. Τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοις ζημιῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. **10.** καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμὴ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρεας συνθέντες, — ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων, — συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκειας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ

τοῦ Αἰγαίου εὗρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκεν· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπό-  
 φασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων τριχοῦ,  
 ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλώειν πλοίοισι  
 λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. **11.** ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-  
 σαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ  
 ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκο-  
 λίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων.  
 παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν  
 ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἶλκε.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαν-  
 τες, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδῆς τῷ εὗρεϊ, κόσμῳ  
 ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ  
 ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνουν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα  
 ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν  
 ἐπεφόρησαν· κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν πα-  
 ρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια  
 τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

**12.** Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάαστο καὶ τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος  
 (οἱ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ  
 στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος), καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως  
 πεπονημένη ἠγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι  
 παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὠρμᾶτο ἐλῶν  
 ἐς Ἀβυδον. ὠρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ ἑδρὴν ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίης  
 τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ  
 μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἶρετο τοὺς  
 Μάγους, τὸ ἐθέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον,  
 ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέ-  
 γοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ  
 σφέων. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἔων



ἐποιέετο τὴν ἑλασίν. **13.** ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὔτοι βασιλεί. προηγεύντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγεμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὔτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγεμένοι. τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον. τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἴλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτῶ, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβεβήκεε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

**14.** Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγεμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγεμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δούρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἑόντες ἀργυρέας ροιὰς εἶχον. εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιὰς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διελέλειπτο

καὶ δύο σταδίου, καὶ ἔπειτεν ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἥϊε ἀναμίξ.  
**15.** ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκύμανδρον, ὃς  
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρη-  
 σαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ  
 τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἴμερον  
 ἔχων θηήσασθαι. θηησάμενος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων  
 ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιίδι ἔθυσσε βούς χιλίας, χοῦς δὲ  
 οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι  
 νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ  
 ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν.

**16.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέ-  
 σθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν. καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ  
 (ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος),  
 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν  
 πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας. θηεύμενος δὲ ἰμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλ-  
 λαν γινομένην ἰδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων  
 Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.  
 Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν  
 πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακά-  
 ρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. **17.** μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτά-  
 βανος ὁ πάτρως — ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευ-  
 θέρως, οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα — οὗτος ὠνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα, εἶρετο  
 τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργά-  
 σαι νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεαυτὸν  
 δακρύεις. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοι-  
 κτεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἶη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων  
 γε ὄντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ἐτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτροτέρα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτῳ βραχέϊ βίῳ οὐδείς οὕτῳ ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις, καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ, τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἳ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι, καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσai, καὶ βραχὺν ἔοντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτῳ ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν. Ἑέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· 'Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπηΐτης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἴην περ σὺ διαίρεσαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνεώμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ.

**18.** Καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ἑέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρητίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσησι, ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυὺν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἣν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι.

**19.** Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ιδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμὴματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπανετέλλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ἑέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην

τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἔδωρέετο. **20.** Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆϊη. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππῶται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων. **21.** Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνύστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἕξῃν τοι ποίειν ταῦτα.

**22.** Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδῖον μέγα,



διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἐβρος. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένους ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν. **23.** ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο. Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρέιχον πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων), σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἑξῶθεν κύκλον, περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασιγὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

**24.** Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτός σφεας διεξελάσας θηήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκητο, καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης, μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἔζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλωε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ τὸν πεζὸν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλε-

μον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρῳρέων πλώων ἐθηείτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

**25.** Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργεὸς ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.

**26.** ἔνθα δὲ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι πανδημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σίτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προεῖρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.

**27.** Οἱ μὲν δὲ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ τὰς νέας πορεύεσθαι, (Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι.

**28.** Ὁ μὲν δὲ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν ἀπίκατο, οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ

ὔδωρ. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἶδε, Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Αἰνιῆνες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, Μάγνητες, Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῆται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι. τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· Ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες εἶντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. **29.** ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὔδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηϊώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

**30.** Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὔδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος, ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως. **31.** ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχίσω. εἰ

Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἣ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλείῃ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλiscoμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. **32.** ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρέοντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλείος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τάληθέος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε. ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγεύραντες, καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια φοβερά ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

**33.** Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι. καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε·



ὦ μέλει, τί κάθησθε ; λιπὼν φεύγ' ἔσχατα γαίης  
 Δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.  
 Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,  
 Οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης  
 Λείπεται, ἀλλ' αἰδήλα πέλει. κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει 5  
 Πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.  
 Πολλὰ δὲ κάλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον.  
 Πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῶ πυρὶ δώσει,  
 Οἳ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεούμενοι ἐστήκασι,  
 Δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι 10  
 Αἶμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.  
 Ἄλλ' ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτῳ, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

**34.** Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμ-  
 φορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέοντο. προβύλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου,  
 τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ  
 σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτῖς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι  
 τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι  
 Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· ὦναξ, χρήσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι  
 περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὰς τοι  
 ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν. **35.** ταῦτα  
 δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,  
 Δισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.  
 Σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὐτῖς ἔπος ἐρέω, ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας.  
 Τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὔρος  
 Ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέιο, 5  
 Τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 Μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.  
 Μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα  
 Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν

Νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί κοτε κἀντίος ἔσση.

10

᾽Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

᾽Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

**36.** Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραφάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὥς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῶ ἐπέφρακτο. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

᾽Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

᾽Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας ἐσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

**37.** Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὦνῆρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἔοντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε, ᾽Ω σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾽Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι

τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχίησοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἔντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. 38. Ἐτέρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεΐ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς. τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὗται τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιηθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τε σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν Βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθόμενους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

39. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγγόνοε· συλληγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἔοντας πολέμους. ᾗσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανόμενοι Ἑέρξεα σὺν τῷ

στρατῶ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέως πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἀργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμὴν συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἔς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ κως ἓν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῷτὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὥς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι.

### III. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLAE.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. στεινότερη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εὐῶσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία, ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν εὐῶσαν πρότερον ἥπερ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παρίεναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαίτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ. ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατ' ἐκατέρους ἐόντα. 2. Οἱ τε χώροι οὕτω ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἰρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στεινοτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης,



ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθέ τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλ-  
πηνοὺς ὄπισθε ἔοντας εὐοῖσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε  
κατὰ Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς  
ἄλλη μούνη. 3. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέ-  
ρης οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνον ἐς  
τὴν Οἶτην, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκε-  
ται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά,  
τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἰδρυται  
Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας  
τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν. ἔδειμαν  
δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος, δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ  
Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκῆσונτες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκ-  
τέαται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφε-  
σθαί σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη  
ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανεόμενοι, ὅπως μή σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ  
Θεσσαλοὶ ἐς τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρό-  
νου ἐκέετο. 4. τοῖσι δὲ αὖτις ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπα-  
μύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἔστι  
ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισι-  
τιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. οἱ μὲν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι  
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτιήδεοι. ἅπαντα γὰρ  
προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι  
χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι  
τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρ-  
σιν ἔοντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύ-  
οντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θά-  
λασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

5. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὁρμεόμενος ἐκ Θέρ-  
μης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα

ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουμεναι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναίη καὶ Ἀττική. προῖδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.

**6.** Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἑνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός.

**7.** Αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὠρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσε σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκήμενοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμον, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνοὺς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο ἦν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος χρήμα ἀφόρητον.

**8.** Λέγεται δὲ

λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν, Ὠρείθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοί σφι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἣ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἔθύν τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν τιμωρῆσαί σφι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὀρμέουσι ὁ Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοί σφι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴλισσόν. **9.** ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οὐ ἐλάχιστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη χρηστὴ ἐγένετο, ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὔρε, ἄλλα τε [χρύσεια] ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος. **10.** σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμὸς, ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ, μὴ σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῖντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες,

ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θετὶ ἔθουον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπίας ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων. **11.** Ὁ μὲν δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γεγόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην, ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφί ἀντιξόους ἔσσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχουν, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες. **12.** Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπᾶσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφεταιί. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξῃ ἐποιεῦντο.

**13.** Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιίης, ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρεόμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὥς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μῦθος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον



πινόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ρεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως. **14.** Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦϊε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτόν ἐστι χῶρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρύς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινός. περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληῖται πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαιῆς Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχειὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσίνου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός, τῷ οὖνομα κέεται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι, ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας. **15.** Τρηχὺς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχὺς πεπόλισται· δισχιλίᾳ τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ οὖρεος, τὸ περικληῖται τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἔστι διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥεεῖ παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν τοῦ οὖρεος. **16.** Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κέεται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς,

ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος Ἰδρυται, καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρόν.

**17.** Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου. **18.** Ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκιδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιούντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα· οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. **19.** πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρόσδοκιμοὶ πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἶη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἶη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς εἶντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβόηθον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα. **20.** Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν

νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιος ἐκάστων· ὁ δὲ θω-  
 μαζόμενος μάλιστα, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεό-  
 μενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew τοῦ  
 Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυ-  
 κράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου  
 τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώ-  
 τεω τοῦ Ἐχесτράτου τοῦ Ἡγίος τοῦ Εὐρυσθέneos τοῦ  
 Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ  
 ἀπροσδοκίτου. **21.** διξῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων  
 ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φρον-  
 τίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος  
 ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος, ἀλλὰ  
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὲ ἐς Λεωνίδην  
 ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομ-  
 βρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς), καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἦγε ἐς Θερμο-  
 πύλας, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκο-  
 σίους, καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες. **22.** παραλαβὼν  
 δὲ ἀπύκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος  
 εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε  
 δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους  
 Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο  
 μηδίξειν. παρεκάλεε ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι  
 εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν  
 Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.  
**23.** Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν  
 Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρα-  
 τεύωνται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται  
 ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν,  
 ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες, καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ,

κατὰ τάχος βοηθήσειν πανδημεί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα. οὐκ ὦν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

**24.** Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο, πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθῆειν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι. **25.** Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἱππέα, ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιοίεν. ἠκηκόεε δὲ, ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἡλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἱππεύς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἐκέετο. ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενίζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεύμενος ἐθύμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως, ἀπήλυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίαν· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τά περ ὁπώπεε πάντα. **26.** ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβα-



λέσθαι τὸ ἔον, ὅτι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοία γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημήρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεῦμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἦκουσας μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὠρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὤρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκείν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. **27.** οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστὶ· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεύονται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τό σε, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληῆν τε καλλίστην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅντινα τρόπον τοσούτοι ἔοντες τῇ ἐώντοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἢ μὴ ταυτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῆ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα.

**28.** Τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι. πέμπτῃ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεόμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐώντοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήϊσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαυνον, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίεν

παντί τεω καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεί, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. **29.** ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἥρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ δούρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεόμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι.

**30.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέοντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβύροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων. ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου, πειρεόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαννον ὀπίσω.

**31.** Ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θεύμενον τρεῖς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δεῖσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἑόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἶους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνηα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων. οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώ-

ρων, ἀπήλυνον. **32.** Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι, ἔφρασε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὗρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτην δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἔσπον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. **33.** Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσι οἱ εἶπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἔων μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμίληκώς εἴη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἵτιον γράφω.

**34.** Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης. ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφ' ἑκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιεῖς, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσα-

λοιῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες, φράξαν-  
 τες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου· ἔκ-  
 τε τοσοῦδε κατεδεδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.

**35.** Ἐχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα  
 δὲ τῷ οὐρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τῷτο κέεται, Ἀνόπαια·  
 τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὐρεος, λήγει δὲ  
 κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων  
 πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον  
 λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἑδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατόν  
 ἐστι.

**36.** κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν  
 οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν  
 νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ  
 δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ’  
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος ἐφύλασ-  
 σον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλί-  
 ται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν  
 ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπ’ ὧν  
 εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθέλονται Φωκέες  
 ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

**37.** Ἐμαθον δὲ σφεας  
 οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον  
 οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὖρος πᾶν ἔον δρυὼν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ  
 νηνεμῖη, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκός ἦν φύλλων  
 ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἑδραμον οἱ Φωκέες  
 καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν.  
 ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο·  
 ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν, ἱνεκύρησαν  
 στρατῷ.

**38.** ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρνης, καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ  
 Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ὀποδα-  
 πὸς εἶη ὁ στρατὸς. πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς  
 Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι



τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὔρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολέεμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὔρος κατὰ τάχος.

**39.** Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης, ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοῖ σφι θάνατον. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἥδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο. **40.** λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸς σφῶν ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρεούσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε αἴσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους εὐντας ἀπροθύμους, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεύσαι σφῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. **41.** ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι χρεομένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἢ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χρεῶ, ἔχοντα ᾧδε·

Ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,  
 Ἦ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι  
 Πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐκί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης  
 Πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.  
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων  
 Ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἔφημι  
 Σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

5

Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος  
 καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς σύμμα-  
 χους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχε-  
 σθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. **42.** μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε  
 οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μούνον τοὺς  
 ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ,  
 Μεγιστίην τὸν Ἀκαρνῆνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν  
 ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτου τὸν εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλ-  
 λοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,  
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν  
 οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, εὐόντα οἱ  
 μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. **43.** Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀπο-  
 πεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ·  
 Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ  
 βουλόμενοι (κατεῖχε γὰρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ  
 ποιεύμενος)· Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν  
 ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν  
 Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

**44.** Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπουδὰς ἐποιή-  
 σατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην,  
 πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιδάλτειω οὕτω.  
 ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι· καὶ

βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἥπερ ἡ περίοδός τε καὶ ἀνά-  
 βασις. οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν·  
 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον  
 ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς  
 τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος  
 ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς  
 τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν  
 στεινῶν, ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε  
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον  
 πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. **45.** πολλοὶ  
 μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,  
 πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν  
 δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι  
 τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ  
 οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, παραχρεόμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. δούρατα μὲν  
 νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηρικαῦτα ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα  
 ἤδη, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. **46.** Καὶ  
 Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄρι-  
 στος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν  
 ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·  
 ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐνομα-  
 στοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ  
 Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγο-  
 νότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἦν ἀδελφεὸς, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς, ὃς καὶ  
 ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ  
 ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνου οἱ εὐούσης ταύτης τέκνου. **47.** Ξέρξεώ  
 τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὥθι-

σμός ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς δὲ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκισ. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. **48.** ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεῖνὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

**49.** Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδέων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἄριστος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης, τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμιξαίσφεας τοῖσι Μήδοισι· πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς, ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν οἰστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι, — τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλήθος, ὥς πάντα σφὶ ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. **50.** ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοὶ, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιδέων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

**51.** Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασιν ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·



Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρ-  
τιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

ᾧ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε  
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι  
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
Μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς  
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος  
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσὶ σφεας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες,  
τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεός  
ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

52. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε  
καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ  
χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην (ὥς μεμετι-  
μένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδῳ, καὶ κατε-  
κέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον), ἢ εἴ γε  
μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, πα-  
ρεὼν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν·  
ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτόν μὲν πυθόμενον τὴν τῶν  
Περσέων περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα,  
ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους· ὅκως  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν  
δὲ ἐσπεύοντα ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ  
λειποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. 53. εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μόνον  
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγίσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ  
ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί,

οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δέ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος, οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μνηῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὼν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐβελήσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

**54.** ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην. πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπεινευχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

**55.** Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἤϊσαν ἄσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλείῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλείῃ. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας. **56.** οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ

βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ἑέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεωντιάδεω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτεν ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων, καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

57. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. Ἑέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε. Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ. ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσσοι τινές εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὅκοσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπε. ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλήθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλόν, καὶ πόλιες πολλαί. τὸ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα κη, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι. οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἑέρξης. Δημάρητε, τέφω τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. . . .

58. Ταῦτα εἶπας Ἑέρξης διεξήϊε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν. καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δηλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἤκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἑέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπέτακτο ποιέειν.

IV. ARTEMISIUM.—MARCH OF XERXES TO ATHENS.—  
SALAMIS.—RETREAT OF XERXES TO ASIA.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οὔδε· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἄρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς εἶντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας· Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δωδέκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετρίεες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ. 2. ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, ἅρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπάρτιῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα. 3. ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὼν εἶη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων. εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ὀρθὰ νοεῖντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτ' ἁκρίων ἐστὶ, ὅσ' ὁ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον μέχρι



ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσεα, περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχόμενοι, ἀπειλῶντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφειτάς, καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοεῆς ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδῳ προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. 5. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα, ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, — Ἀδεΐμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορινθίων στρατηγός, τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μῦθος, φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, — πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας· Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμπειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο· αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλίπθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὲ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς περὶ δειλίην πρῶτῃν γινομένην ἀπίκато οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλῶοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνῃ καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρου, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. 7. πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας, περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιαθου (ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλῶνσαι Εὐβοίαν) κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐρίπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλωόντων, ὡς ἠκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφετῇσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, — ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο, — οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτεω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως·

θωυμάζω δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα. λέγεται γάρ, ὥς ἔξ Ἀφετεών δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξεληθών. **9.** λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι ἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα. περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖω μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκητο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμνηε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδονσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνῖκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτεν νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. **10.** Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλωε, δείλῃν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. ὀρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἷ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῳ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλῶοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφί μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες· τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλῶντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο, συμφορὴν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ὀρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφί ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο, ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασιλέος λάμ-

ψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

**11.** Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχυραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μούνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἔόντων αὐτομολεῖ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χώρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. **12.** Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο, καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἤκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερῇ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος, καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὥρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραί. **13.** καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτη νύξ ἐγίνετο· τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι



ἀγριωτέρῃ, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιεέτό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη. οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο.

**14.** Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφειῇσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφί ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφί ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ἐπεβώθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθοῦσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώνοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώνοντες ἐπεπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι, ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισιον.

**15.** Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφί ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρῃσι τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδαα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὲ παρεκελεύοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι.

**16.** ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μη-

νοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλεῦντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς. ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλώον τε καὶ συιέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγένοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκότεροι.

**17.** Παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος· — ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἐτοῖμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν· — οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. **18.** Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὕστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε· Ἴωνες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατεύομενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε

καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποίειν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέξευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ὑπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε, καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν Βάρβαρόν ὑπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη. . . .

**19.** Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον [οἱ Βάρβαροι]. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεὼν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, ἢ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ Βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι. **20.** Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀνέβησαν (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὐνομα αὐτῇ, ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνεύκοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν)· οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκομένην. οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιεντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. **21.** Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ Βάρβαροι ἀπὶ

κοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιεῖν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. 22. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὠρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσυναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα. 23. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην ἀπύκατο· ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι, εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωντοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιὴν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπέξηλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω. 24. Ἐπει δὲ ἀγχοῦ



τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνευγμένα ἰρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι μάλιστα. **25.** ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὥς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρεον θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας, μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν [ἔχοντας], ἔπεσθαι σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. **26.** τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας εἶναι, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σοοί, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

27. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὥς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν εἶναι· οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφεων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα. 28. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἤκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὥς εἶναι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι. αὕτη δ' ἢ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψανστος. σημενίσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξεκέετο, ἐπλωον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. 29. Ἐπεὶ

δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυυθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζῆνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προεῖρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πλεούνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν ὧντος ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλεῖτος ἐών. νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, παρέξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ὅκτῳ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσiai.

**30.** Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐβουλευόντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδew γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλούμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέυτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμίνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἐς τοὺς ἐώντων ἐξοίσονται. **31.** ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν (αὐτῶν ἐκκλειοπύτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον) καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηῖτο. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν, πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

**32.** Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἓνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας· ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέαι τὸ μαντήϊον, τὸ ἡ Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας. **33.** Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήϊον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιούδε· ὅκως στυπεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο, καί περ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανέοντο, καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενόν σφεας ἐλεῖν. **34.** χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον παῖσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἑόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον



αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. **35.** Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελεύοντα τὴν παροῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, — εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. **36.** τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

**37.** Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνέων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἶεροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι. τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμα-

χέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας. **38.** ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα  
 ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὅς τι σφί εἶη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς  
 εἶη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν καὶ πρὸ  
 τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· Οὐ τοι ἄρα, ἦν ἀπα-  
 εἶρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρί-  
 δος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ  
 οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται, οὔτε τις ἀν-  
 θρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιὴν,  
 ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔστι μη-  
 χανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνῃ  
 ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ  
 μενέειν. **39.** κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλέϊ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑπόθηκη,  
 καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν  
 Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι  
 πρῆγμα συμμίξαι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα  
 λέγειν, εἴ τι ἐθέλοι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός  
 οἱ καταλέγει ἐκείνὰ τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου,  
 ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθεῖς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέ-  
 γνωσε χρητίζων ἐκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. **40.** Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθη-  
 σαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν  
 εἵνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστο-  
 κλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδεΐμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε·  
 Ὡ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι  
 ραπίζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκατα-  
 λειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύνται. **41.** Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς  
 τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε  
 ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς

ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρῳσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἵχετο, λέγων τάδε· Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀναζεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγῃ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφoron ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγινα, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. **42.** ἣν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἣν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν, — τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων, — αὗτις δὲ Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκείται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. **43.** ἣν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίαςί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-

χωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπότητας γνώμας. **44.** Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος, αὐτὶς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὥς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἥπερ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσiai νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμὸς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. **45.** Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδεα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα· Σὺ εἰ μενείεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσσαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὥς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἣ περ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμεῶν αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. **46.** Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγῃ τὰς νέας. ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὗξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι



καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὥς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

**47.** Ἐφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐούσα ἐρήμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἑλευσίνος ὥς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίων· ἀποθουμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτε ὥν κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἶρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο· **48.** αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι· Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατῇ. τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδῃλα ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἑλευσίνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῃ καὶ τῇ στρατῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἱακχάζουσι. **49.** πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον· Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς. ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε

οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἡσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῇσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

50. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θηησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιάιαν, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελον ἀναπλώειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι, νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἄρρώδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον. 51. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅπως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος·

ἄτε δὲ εὐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἡνύετο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο, καὶ ἐλύνουν οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

**52.** Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἄτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὔτῳ περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεῖμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεῶν εἶη ἀποπλῶειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

**53.** Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖον, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεῶν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοῖον ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ταῖδε· Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόνται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον

ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μῆ. **54.** ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς, ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἐκέετο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

**55.** Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός. ἦδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρεον αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νερόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον.



οὗτος ὦνῆρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἔξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, εἶντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἔξεκαλέετο, ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμίξαι. προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. **56.** ὥς δὲ ἐξήλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεῶν ἐστὶ, ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθευτεν Πελοποννησίοις. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἦν ἐθέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης, οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμνηνον. **57.** Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγειλας. τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἤθελον εἰς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἡγγεῖλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν, καὶ οὐ πείσω ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμνηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνης, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις. **58.** Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξησομένους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα

εἶπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. **59.** ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἤκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἤρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμέneos, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημνίῃ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας. δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

**60.** Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται, παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἤκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας οἱ Ἑλληνες. **61.** ἀναγομένοισι δὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει. συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· Αἰγινῇται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φᾶσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι, ὥστε καὶ

ἅπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε ; **62.** Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδρόδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν μέμνηται τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρα οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί. **63.** Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραῖζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινήτων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεούντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόφ ποιούντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἶόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἥσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῶ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξεα, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θήσεσθαι βασιλέα. **64.** κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλείῃ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπῖκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ νηὺς ἢ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσα δια-

φυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιναι, ἥ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εἶσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλώοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. **65.** εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον εὐντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς. ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλόα ἐωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος, ὥς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσιν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολεῖν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. **66.** τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεόντων· Δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὥς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες. ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

**67.** Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ



ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείεσται διεφθείροντο. οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλείῃ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον. **68.** Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιούδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηϊκίῃ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιῇ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηϊκῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὴ εὐντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηϊκῆς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. **69.** ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδέ σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεὶ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος, τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν

Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρέων τούτου τοῦ Φοινικῆτος πάθεος.

**70.** Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλωόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίῳζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅκως δέ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας. **71.** Ἐυθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἢ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα, καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρίου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινῆτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἣ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθῆς ὁ Ἰσχενοῦ, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκεν εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι. τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἦλω νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίῃ, ὥστε Πυθῆν οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιναν. ὥς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημῆϊον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμόν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἰνέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. **72.** Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινιῆτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεὺς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλώοι Ἀρτεμισίῃ, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἐκέετο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, ὃς ἂν μιν ζωὴν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας

στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

**73.** Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν, ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὐτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὐτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρώντο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. **74.** Ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέαν, αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι, μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. **75.** Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων, οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

**76.** Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι εἶντα, ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσησι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Δυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθее πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι·

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

**77.** Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῇται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλῶειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε· ἐθέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαυλούς τε Φοινικητοὺς συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδῖν ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὀρέοντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὖ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον εἶντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης. **78.** Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρικοῦσάν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὃ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν εἶν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύρηται



τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὅσων ἂν ἡμερέων ἦ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τεταγμένος, τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατα-  
 νύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἐωυτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοί τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰπερ Ἑλλησι ἡ λαμπαδη-  
 φορίη, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον. **79.** Ἡ μὲν δὲ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρ-  
 ξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίην πάσας ἐστόρεσαν, καὶ ἐθυμίοεν θυ-  
 μιήματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσιν τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσιν· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφί ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέοντο ἀπλῆτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

**80.** Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἑφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λό-  
 γοις τὰ ἔργα πειρεόμενον ὁμοίᾳ. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέως, τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλείῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφει-  
 γον ἐπὶ πολλόν. χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλληχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. **81.** Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγε-

νετο, ὀρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζόν, ἥλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξίσομενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξῃ στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας, πλώειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. **82.** Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς, εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρώτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρέειν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἔχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρήσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατ' ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλίσκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογούντων. τροφήν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσεα, ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

**83.** Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότες περιημέκτεον, ὡρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὧλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγέ

σφι τάδε· Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρέγενόμην, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ (εὖρημα γὰρ εὕρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας.

**84.** τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίνης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, ἔοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τὰ ἰρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσέα, ἵνα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

**85.** Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφός, ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν, ἐς πᾶσαν βῆσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι, τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο. οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντῳ ἄρι-

στος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω.

**86.** Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα, ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν· χειμερίσαι δὲ ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτεν ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλὴν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους· ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἵππεῦσι. **87.** Ξέρξης δὲ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν διέφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ



νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλεσι, ἵνα  
 ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν  
 Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακε-  
 δονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἶρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόν-  
 τες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρηῖξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω, ἔφασαν  
 νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηῖκων τῶν περὶ  
 τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. 88. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι,  
 ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηῖκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον,  
 ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς  
 Ἄβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἔνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι  
 σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον  
 ἐμπιπλάμενοι, καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ  
 ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις. 89. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος  
 λεγόμενος, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπί-  
 κετο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπο-  
 ρίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνει ἐπιτράπει  
 ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσ-  
 σης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλώοντα δέ μιν  
 ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίν. καὶ  
 δὴ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νεὸς ὥστε  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν  
 σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν  
 βασιλέα εἶρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην, εἴ τις ἐστὶ  
 σφι σωτηρίῃ. καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία,  
 ἣν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβα-  
 τέων. 90. καὶ Ξέρξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι·  
 Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδό-  
 μενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἢ σωτηρίῃ. Τὸν μὲν

ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῇ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτηα, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμῆν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

91. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτηα πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλῃν νέα, ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἑρετέων ἔόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεόμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

92. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηϊώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμόν ἀναθεῖναι, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληΐην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεὸς, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα πηχέων. 93. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληΐης ἔπλωον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἀριστήϊα δώσונτες τῷ ἀξιοτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος

γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. 94. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλώνοντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπῖκετο ἐθέλων τιμηθῆναι. καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήϊα μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλείϊ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης. ἐδωρήσαντο δὲ μιν ὄχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύοντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπῖόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὕρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν· μούνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. 95. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθονῷ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὥς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχουτα γереα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐωυτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτ' ἂν σὺ, ὠνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

96. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξῳ περιγεγόμενος, ὥς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβιδον, ἐχειμέρισε ἐν Κύμῃ.

# THUCYDIDES.

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## PYLUS AND SPHACTERIA.

1. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἥρος, πρὶν τὸν σῆτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι, Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἄγρις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς· καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὰς τε τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ στρατηγούς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Εὐρυμέδοντα καὶ Σοφοκλέα· Πυθόδωρος γὰρ ὁ τρίτος αὐτῶν ἤδη προαφῆκτο ἐς Σικελίαν. 2. εἶπον δὲ τούτοις καὶ Κερκυραίων ἅμα παραπλέοντας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιμεληθῆναι, οἳ ἐλῆστεύοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει φυγάντων· καὶ Πελοποννησίων αὐτόσε νῆες ἐξήκοντα παρεπεπλεύκεσαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τιμωροὶ, καὶ λιμοῦ ὄντος μεγάλου ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες κατασχῆσειν ῥαδίως τὰ πράγματα. Δημοσθένης δὲ, ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, αὐτῷ δεηθέντι εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἣν βούληται, περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 3. καὶ ὡς ἐγένοντο πλείοντες κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι αἱ νῆες ἐν Κερκύρα ἤδη εἰσὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὁ μὲν Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Πύλον πρῶτον ἐκέλευε σχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ πράξαντας ἅ δεῖ τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι· ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ, κατὰ τύχην χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον. 4. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθύς ἡξίου τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον, — ἐπὶ τούτῳ



γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε, — καὶ ἀπέβαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ λίθων, καὶ φύσει καρτερόν ὃν καὶ ἐρήμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας· ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἢ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἣν βούληται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν. 5. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγούς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχους κεινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐπέπεσε περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἐγχειρήσαντες εἰργάζοντο, σιδήρια μὲν λιθουργὰ οὐκ ἔχοντες, λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους, καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν ὥς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνοι· καὶ τὸν πηλὸν, εἴ που δέοι χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορία ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἔφερον, ἐγκεκυφότες τε ὥς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τὸ χεῖρε ἐς τοῦπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀποπίπτοι. 6. παντὶ τε τρόπῳ ἠπειλόντο φθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα ἐξεργασάμενοι πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ πλεόν τοῦ χωρίου αὐτὸ καρτερόν ὑπῆρχε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχους. οἱ δὲ ἐορτὴν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες, καὶ ἅμα πυνθανόμενοι ἐν ὀλιγορρίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὥς ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἢ οὐχ ὑπομενούντας σφᾶς ἢ ῥαδίως ληψόμενοι βία· καὶ τί καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὦν ἐπέσχευ. τειχίσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον καὶ ἂ μάλιστα ἔδει ἐν ἡμέραις ἕξ, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην μετὰ νεῶν πέντε αὐτοῦ φύλακα καταλείπουσιν, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι ναυσὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν ἠπειλόντο. 7. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντες Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης, ἀνεχώρουν κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἴκου, νομίζοντες μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἅγις ὁ βασιλεὺς οἰκείον σφίσι τὸ

περὶ τὴν Πύλον· ἅμα δὲ πρὸς ἐσβαλόντες, καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος, ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς, χειμῶν τε ἐπιγενόμενος μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν ἐπέεσε τὸ στράτευμα. ὥστε πολλαχόθεν ξυνέβη ἀναχωρῆσαί τε θᾶσσον αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχυτάτην γενέσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην· ἡμέρας γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

8. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Πελοποννησίων, οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων βραδυτέρα ἐγίγνετο ἡ ἔφοδος, ἄρτι ἀφιγμένων ἀφ' ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς. περιήγγελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον βοηθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Πύλον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ ναῦς σφῶν τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἔπεμψαν, αἱ ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν, καὶ λαθοῦσαι τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Πύλον· παρῆν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. Δημοσθένης δὲ, προσπλεόντων ἔτι τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὑπεκπέμπει φθάσας δύο ναῦς ἀγγεῖλαι Εὐρυμέδοντι καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀθηναίοις παρεῖναι, ὡς τοῦ χωρίου κινδυνεύοντος. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες κατὰ τάχος ἔπλεον κατὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους· 9. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλόντες κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐλπίζοντες ῥαδίως αἰρήσειν οἰκοδόμημα διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων. προσδεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ζακύνθου τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν βοήθειαν, ἐν νῷ εἶχον, ἣν ἄρα μὴ πρότερον ἔλωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἑσπλους τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι, ὅπως μὴ ἦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐφορμίσασθαι ἐς αὐτόν. 10. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη τὸν τε λιμένα, παρατείνουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη, ἐχυρὸν ποιεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἑσπλους στενοῦς, τῇ μὲν δυοῖν

νεοῖν διάπλουν κατὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἡπειρον ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα· ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀτριβῆς πᾶσα ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἦν, καὶ μέγεθος περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους μάλιστα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔσπλους ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντιπρώροις βύζην κλήσειν ἔμελλον· τὴν δὲ νῆσον ταύτην φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον σφίσι ποιῶνται, ὀπλίτας διεβίβασαν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον ἄλλους ἔταξαν.

**11.** Δημοσθένης δὲ, ὁρῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μέλ-  
λοντας προσβάλλειν ναυσί τε ἅμα καὶ πεζῷ, παρεσκευ-  
άζετο καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις αἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ  
τῶν καταλειφθεισῶν ἀνασπάσας ὑπὸ τὸ τείχισμα προσ-  
εσταύρωσεν, καὶ τοὺς ναῦτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥπλισεν ἀσπίσι τε  
φαύλαις καὶ οἰσυνύταις ταῖς πολλαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅπλα ἐν  
χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ πορίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ ληστρικῆς  
Μεσσηνίων τριακοντόρου καὶ κέλητος ἔλαβον, οἱ ἔτυχον  
παραγενόμενοι. **12.** ὀπλίται τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων τούτων  
ὥς τεσσαράκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἷς ἐχρήτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων.  
τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ ὥπλισμένων ἐπὶ  
τὰ τετειχισμένα μάλιστα καὶ ἐχυρὰ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τὴν  
ἡπειρον ἔταξε, προειπὼν ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν πεζόν, ἦν προσ-  
βάλλῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ, ἀπολεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων ἐξήκοντα ὀπλί-  
τας καὶ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ἐχώρει ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν  
θάλασσαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν  
ἀποβαίνειν.

**13.** Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἄραντες, τῷ τε κατὰ γῆν στρα-  
τῷ προσέβαλλον τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἅμα, οὗ-  
σαις τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισίν· ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπέ-  
πλει Θρασυμηλίδας ὁ Κρατησικλέους, Σπαρτιάτης·  
προσέβαλλε δὲ ἡπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης προσεδέχετο. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης,

ἡμύνοντο · οἱ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι, διότι οὐκ ἦν πλείοσι προσσχεῖν, καὶ ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει, τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, προθυμία τε πάσῃ χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμῷ, εἴ πως ὥσάμενοι ἔλοιεν τὸ τεῖχοςμα.

**14.** πάντων δὲ φανερώτατος Βρασίδας ἐγένετο. τριηραρχῶν γὰρ, καὶ ὁρῶν τοῦ χωρίου χαλεποῦ ὄντος τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ κυβερνήτας, εἴ πῃ καὶ δοκοίη δυνατὸν εἶναι σχεῖν, ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν, ἐβόα λέγων ὥς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη, ξύλων φειδομένους, τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε σφετέρας ναῦς βιαζομένους τὴν ἀπόβασιν καταγνύναι ἐκέλευεν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἀποκνήσαι ἀντὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ναῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιδοῦναι, ὁκείλαντας δὲ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀποβάντας, τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ χωρίου κρατῆσαι.

**15.** καὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχεν, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην ἀναγκάσας ὁκείλαι τὴν ναῦν, ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν · καὶ πειρώμενος ἀποβαίνειν, ἀνεκόπη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τραυματισθεὶς πολλὰ ἐλειποψύχῃσέ τε καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν ἢ ἀσπίς περιερρύη ἐς τὴν θύλασσαν, καὶ ἐξενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν γῆν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνελόμενοι ὕστερον πρὸς τὸ τροπαῖον ἐχρήσαντο ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προὔθυμοῦντο μὲν, ἀδύνατοι δ' ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι, τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποχωρούντων. **16.** ἐς τοῦτό τε περιέστη ἡ τύχη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐκ γῆς τε καὶ ταύτης Λακωνικῆς ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκείνους ἐπιπλέοντας, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐκ νεῶν τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πολεμίαν οὔσαν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἀποβαίνειν · ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε, τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ πεζὰ κρατίστοις. τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πλείστον προέχειν.



**17.** Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας μέρος τι προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐπέπαυτο· καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλα ἐς μηχανὰς παρέπεμψαν τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἐς Ἀσίνην, ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ζακύνθου νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραγίγνονται πεντήκοντα· προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ τῶν τε φρουρίδων τινὲς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου καὶ Χίαι τέσσαρες. ὥς δὲ εἶδον τὴν τε ἡπειρον ὀπλιτῶν περίπλεων τὴν τε νῆσον, ἐν τε τῷ λιμένι οὔσας τὰς ναῦς καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλεούσας, ἀπορήσαντες ὅπῃ καθορμίσωνται, τότε μὲν ἐς Πρωτὴν τὴν νῆσον, ἣ οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχει, ἐρῆμος οὔσα, ἔπλευσαν καὶ ἠύλίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία παρασκευασάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ἣν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὥς αὐτοὶ ἐπεσπλευσούμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντανήγοντο, οὔτε ἃ διενόηθησαν, φράξαι τοὺς ἑσπλους, ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες, ἡσυχάζοντες δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ τάς τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ἣν ἑσπλήετις, ὥς ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὄντι οὐ σμικρῷ ναυμαχήσοντες.

**18.** οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες καθ' ἐκάτερον τὸν ἑσπλουν ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλείους καὶ μετεώρους ἤδη τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀντιπρώρους προσπεσόντες ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐπιδιώκοντες ὥς διὰ βραχέος ἔτρωσαν μὲν πολλὰς, πέντε δ' ἔλαβον καὶ μίαν τούτων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυῖαις ἐνέβαλλον. αἱ δὲ καὶ πληρούμεναι ἔτι πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι ἐκόπτοντο. καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀναδούμενοι κενὰς εἰλκον, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμημένων.

**19.** ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ περιαλγούντες τῷ πάθει, ὅτι περ αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, παρεβοήθουν, καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνθεῖλκον ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι

τῶν νεῶν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἔδοκει ἕκαστος ᾧ μὴ  
τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν. ἐγένετό τε ὁ θόρυβος μέγας,  
καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένος τοῦ ἐκατέρων τρόπου, περὶ τὰς ναῦς.  
οἳ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως,  
ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν· οἳ τε Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι κρατοῦντες, καὶ βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ  
πλείστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεζομάχουν. πολὺν τε  
πόνον παρασχόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τραυματίσαντες, διεκρί-  
θησαν, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς κενὰς ναῦς πλὴν τῶν τὸ  
πρῶτον ληφθεῖσῶν διέσωσαν. καταστάντες δὲ ἐκάτεροι  
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ νεκροὺς  
ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ναυαγίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐθὺς  
περιέπλεον, καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειλη-  
μένων· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων  
ἤδη βεβοηθηκότες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ.

**20.** Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὡς ἡγγέλθη τὰ γεγενημένα  
περὶ Πύλον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, τὰ  
τέλη καταβάντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον βουλευεῖν, παραχρῆ-  
μα ὀρῶντας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ. καὶ ὡς εἶδον ἀδύνατον ὄν τιμω-  
ρεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἢ ὑπὸ  
λιμοῦ τι παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ πλήθους βιασθέντας κρατη-  
θῆναι, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἀθηναίων,  
ἣν ἐθέλωσι, σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους τὰ περὶ Πύλον, ἀπο-  
στεῖλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις περὶ ξυμβάσεως, καὶ  
τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι κομίσασθαι. **21.** δε-  
ξαμένων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν λόγον, ἐγίγνοντο σπονδαὶ  
τοιαίδε. Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἐν αἷς ἐναυμάχησαν  
καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν μακραὶ, παρα-  
δοῦναι κομίσαντας ἐς Πύλον Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπι-  
φέρειν τῷ τειχίσματι μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν,  
Ἀθηναίους δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀνδράσι σίτον ἑᾶν τοὺς ἐν

τῇ ἡπεύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκπέμπειν τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον, δύο χοίνικας ἐκάστῳ Ἀττικὰς ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἴνου καὶ κρέας, θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμίσεια, ταῦτα δὲ ὀρώντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐσπέμπειν, καὶ πλοῖον μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν λάθρα· φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν ἥσσουν, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ στρατῷ μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν. **22.** ὃ τι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν ἐκάτεροι καὶ ὁτιοῦν, τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέχρι οὗ ἐπανέλθωσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τριήρει Ἀθηναίους καὶ πάλιν κομίσαι. ἐλθόντων δὲ, τὰς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηναίους ὁμοίως οἷαςπερ ἂν παραλάβωσιν. αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ αἱ νῆες παρεδόθησαν οὔσαι περὶ ἑξήκοντα, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν. . . .

**23.** Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοσαῦτα εἶπον, νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ σπονδῶν μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν, σφῶν δὲ ἐναντιουμένων κωλύεσθαι, διδομένης δὲ εἰρήνης ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι τε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποδώσειν. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἥδη σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον ἐτοιμούς εἶναι, ὁπότεν βούλωνται, ποιέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τοῦ δὲ πλέονος ὠρέγοντο. **24.** μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνῆγε Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον ὢν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος· καὶ ἔπεισεν ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς χρὴ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ παραδόντας πρῶτον κομισθῆναι Ἀθήναζε, ἐλθόντων δὲ, ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίους Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγάς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, — ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ξυμβάσεως, Ἀθηναίων ξυγχωρησάντων κατὰ ξυμφορὰς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε δεομένων

τι μᾶλλον σπονδῶν, — κομίσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ὅποσον ἂν δοκῇ χρόνον ἀμφοτέροις.

**25.** οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, ξύνεδρους δὲ σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ἐλέσθαι, οὔτινες λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες περὶ ἐκάστου ξυμβήσονται κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ὅ τι αὖ πείθωσιν ἀλλήλους. Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, λέγων γιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντας δίκαιον αὐτοὺς, σαφὲς δ' εἶναι καὶ νῦν, οὔτινες τῷ μὲν πλήθει οὐδὲν ἐθέλουσιν εἰπεῖν, ὀλίγοις δὲ ἀνδράσι ξύνεδροι βούλονται γίγνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διανοοῦνται, λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἅπασιν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε σφίσιν οἶόν τε ὃν ἐν πλήθει εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ξυγχωρεῖν, μὴ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες, οὔτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ μετρίοις ποιήσοντας ἃ προυκαλοῦντο, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄπρακτοι.

**26.** ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, διελύοντο εὐθύς αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ περὶ Πύλον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπήτουν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες — ἐπιδρομήν τε τῷ τειχίσματι παράσπονδον καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι — οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ εἴρητο, εἴαν καὶ ὁτιοῦν παραβαθῇ, λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέλεγόν τε καὶ, ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀπελθόντες ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

**27.** καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύλον ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ κράτος ἐπολεμεῖτο, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δυοῖν νεοῖν ἐναντίαιν ἀεὶ τὴν νῆσον περιπλέοντες τῆς ἡμέρας, — τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ ἅπασαι περιώρμουν, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅποτε ἄνεμος εἴη· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτοῖς εἴκοσι νῆες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐγένοντο, — Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατοπεδευόμενοι καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι τῷ τείχει,



σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσαι.

**28.** Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πύλῳ ἔτι ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατόπεδον τῶν Πελοποννησίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν, ἐπίπονος δ' ἦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡ φυλακὴ σίτου τε ἀπορία καὶ ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κρήνη ὅτι μὴ μία ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Πύλου, καὶ αὕτη οὐ μεγάλη, ἀλλὰ διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα οἱ πλείστοι ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἔπινον οἶον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ. στενοχωρία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ὄρμον, αἱ μὲν σίτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ἥρουντο κατὰ μέρος, αἱ δὲ μετέωροι ὥρμουν. **29.** ἀθυμίαν τε πλείστην ὁ χρόνος παρέιχε παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνόμενος, οὓς ᾤοντο ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπολιορκήσκειν, ἐν νήσῳ τε ἐρήμῃ καὶ ὕδατι ἀλμυρῷ χρωμένους. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προειπόντες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐσάγειν σίτον τε τὸν βουλόμενον ἀληλεσμένον καὶ οἶνον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βρῶμα, οἶον ἂν ἐς πολιορκίαν ξυμφέρῃ, τάξαντες ἀργυρίου πολλοῦ, καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τῷ ἐσαγαγόντι ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι. καὶ ἐσήγον ἄλλοι τε παρακινδυνεύοντες καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Εἰλωτες, ἀπαίροντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὀπόθεν τύχοιεν, καὶ καταπλέοντες ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς νήσου. **30.** μάλιστα δὲ ἐτήρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι· ῥᾶον γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τριήρων ἐλάνθανον, ὅποτε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἴη· ἄπορον γὰρ ἐγίγνετο περιορμεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδῆς ὁ κατάπλους καθεστήκει· ἐπώκελλον γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα τετιμημένα χρημάτων, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται περὶ τὰς κατάρσεις τῆς νήσου ἐφύλασσον. ὅσοι δὲ γαλήνῃ κινδυνεύσειαν ἠλίσκοντο. ἐσένεον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα κολυμβηταὶ ὕφυδροι, καλωδίῳ ἐν ἄσκοῖς ἐφέλκοντες μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομ-

μένον· ὦν τὸ πρῶτον λανθανόντων, φυλακαὶ ὕστερον ἐγένοντο· παντί τε τρόπῳ ἐκάτεροι ἐτεχνῶντο, οἱ μὲν ἐσπέμπειν τὰ σιτία, οἱ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν σφᾶς.

**31.** Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πυνθανόμενοι περὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὅτι ταλαιπωρεῖται καὶ σίτος τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεί, ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ σφῶν χειμῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιλάβοι. πάντων δὲ ἐφοβοῦντο μάλιστα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι· καὶ μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι. **32.** Κλέων δὲ, γνούς αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψίαν περὶ τῆς κωλύμης τῆς ξυμβάσεως, οὐ τάληθῇ ἔφη λέγειν τοὺς ἐξαγγέλλοντας. παραινούντων δὲ τῶν ἀφιγμένων, εἰ μὴ σφίσι πιστεύουσι, κατασκόπους τινὰς πέμψαι, ἠρέθη κατάσκοπος αὐτὸς μετὰ Θεογένους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γνούς ὅτι ἀναγκασθήσεται ἢ ταῦτα λέγειν οἷς διέβαλλεν ἢ τάναντία εἰπὼν ψευδὴς φανήσεται, παρήνει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠρμημένους τι τὸ πλεόν τῇ γνώμῃ στρατεύειν, ὥς χρή κατασκόπους μὲν μὴ πέμπειν μηδὲ διαμέλλειν καιρὸν παριέντας, εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀληθῇ εἶναι τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ ἐς Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἀπεσήμενεν, ἐχθρὸς ὦν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν, ῥάδιον εἶναι παρασκευῇ, εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, πλεύσαντας λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ αὐτός γ' αὖν, εἰ ἦρχεν, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο.

**33.** Ὁ δὲ Νικίας, τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα, ὅς τι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλέει εἰ ῥάδιόν γε αὐτῷ φαίνεται, καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα, ἐκέλευεν ἥντινα βούλεται δύναμιν λαβόντα τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι ἐπιχειρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν λόγῳ μόνον ἀφίεναι, ἐτοῖμος ἦν· γνούς δὲ τῷ ὄντι παραδωσείοντα, ἀνε-

χώρει, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν, δεδιὼς ἤδη, καὶ οὐ καὶ οἰόμενός οἱ αὐτὸν τολμῆσαι ὑποχωρῆσαι. αὐθις δὲ ὁ Νικίας ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλῳ ἀρχῆς, καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐποιεῖτο. **34.** οἱ δὲ, οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέων ὑπέφευγε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα, τόσῳ ἐπεκελεύοντο τῷ Νικίᾳ παραδιδόναι τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβόων πλεῖν. ὥστε οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως τῶν εἰρημένων ἔτι ἐξαπαλλαγῇ, ὑφίσταται τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ παρελθὼν οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι ἔφη Λακεδαιμονίους, πλεύσεσθαι τε λαβὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐδένα, Αἰμνίους δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρίους τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ πελταστὰς οἱ ἦσαν ἐκ τε Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ταῦτα δὲ ἔχων, ἔφη, πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Πύλῳ στρατιώταις, ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν ἢ ἄξειν Λακεδαιμονίους ζῶντας ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτενεῖν. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐνέπεσε μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος τῇ κουφολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ· ἀσμένοις δ' ὅμως ἐγίγνετο τοῖς σώφροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, λογιζομένοις δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν τοῦ ἐτέρου τεύξεσθαι, ἢ Κλέωνος ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι (ὃ μᾶλλον ἤλπιζον), ἢ σφαλεῖσι γνώμῃς Λακεδαιμονίους σφίσι χειρώσασθαι.

**35.** Καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ τὸν πλοῦν, τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἕνα προσελόμενος, Δημοσθένην, τὴν ἀναγωγὴν διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην προσέλαβε πυνθανόμενος τὴν ἀπόβασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διανοεῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, κακοπαθοῦντες τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, καὶ μᾶλλον πολιορκούμενοι ἢ πολιορκοῦντες, ὥρμητο διακινδυνεύσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτι ῥώμην καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχευ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς οὔσης ὑλώδους ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀτριβοῦς διὰ τὴν αἰεὶ ἐρημίαν, ἐφοβεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε μᾶλλον εἶναι· πολλῇ

γὰρ ἂν στρατοπέδῳ ἀποβάντι ἐξ ἀφανοῦς χωρίου προσβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν. **36.** τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθέντων διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς νήσου τοῖς ἐσχάτοις προσίσχοντας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι διὰ προφυλακῆς, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης ἄκοντος, [καὶ] ἀπὸ τούτου πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου τὸ πολὺ αὐτῆς ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν. οὕτω δὴ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίους μᾶλλον κατιδὼν πλείους ὄντας (ὑπονοῶν πρότερον ἐλάισσοσι τὸν σῖτον αὐτοὺς ἐσπέμπειν) τὴν τε νῆσον εὐαποβατωτέραν οὔσαν, τότε — ὥς ἐπ' ἀξιοχρεῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι — τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν παρεσκευάζετο, στρατιάν τε μεταπέμπων ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς ξυμμάχων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐτοιμάζων.

**37.** Κλέων δὲ, ἐκείνῳ τε προπέμψας ἄγγελον ὥς ἤξων, καὶ ἔχων στρατιὰν ἣν ἡτήσατο, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πύλον. καὶ ἅμα γενομένοι πέμπουσι πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατόπεδον κήρυκα, προκαλούμενοι εἰ βούλοιντο ἄνευ κινδύνου τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρας σφίσι τά τε ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κελεύειν παραδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ φυλακῇ τῇ μετρία τηρῶνται, ἕως ἂν τι περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, μίαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐπέσχον, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀνηγάγοντο μὲν νυκτὸς, ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς τοὺς ὀπλίτας πάντας ἐπιβιβάσαντες, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑω ὀλίγον ἀπέβαινον τῆς νήσου ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος, ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα ὄντες ὀπλίται, καὶ ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον φυλακτῆριον τῆς νήσου. **38.** ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ ὡς τριάκοντα ἦσαν ὀπλίται, μέσον δὲ καὶ ὀμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων εἶχεν, μέρος δέ τι οὐ πολὺ αὐτὸ τοῦσχατον ἐφύλασσε τῆς νήσου τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον, ὃ ἦν ἐκ τε θαλάσσης ἀπόκρημνον καὶ



ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἥκιστα ἐπίμαχον· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιὸν λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον, ὃ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ὠφέλιμον ἂν εἶναι, εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρα.

**39.** Οὕτω μὲν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδραμον, εὐθύς διαφθείρουσιν ἔν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι, ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, οἰόμενων αὐτῶν τὰς ναῦς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐς ἔφορμον τῆς νυκτὸς πλεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἔφω γιγνομένη καὶ ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀπέβαινον, ἐκ μὲν νεῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλειόνων πάντες πλὴν θαλαμίων, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐσκευασμένοι, τοξόται τε ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσους τούτων, Μεσσηνίων τε οἱ βεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι περὶ Πύλον κατεῖχον πάντες πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους φυλάκων. **40.** Δημοσθένους δὲ τάξαντος διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους, ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐλάσσους, τῶν χωρίων τὰ μετεωρότατα λαβόντες, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστη ἀπορία ἦ τοῖς πολεμίοις πανταχόθεν κεκυκλωμένοις, καὶ μὴ ἔχωσι πρὸς ὃ τι ἀντιτάσσονται, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολοι γίγνωνται τῷ πλήθει, εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπίοιεν, ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ δὲ τοῖς πλαγίοις, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρατεταγμένων. **41.** τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη ὁ Δήμοσθένης τό τε πρῶτον τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐπενόει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν, καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὡς εἶδον τό τε πρῶτον φυλακτήριον διεφθαρμένον, καὶ στρατὸν σφίσιν ἐπιόντα, ξυνετάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπήεσαν, βουλόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἐξ ἐναντίας γὰρ οὗτοι καθεστήκεσαν, ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ κατὰ νώτου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὀπλίταις οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν προσμῖξαι οὐδὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρῆσασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ψιλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν βάλλοντες εἶργον, καὶ

ἅμα ἐκείνοι οὐκ ἀντεπήεσαν ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζον· τοὺς δὲ ψιλούς, ἣ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσθέοντες προσκείοντο, ἔτρεπον· καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἡμύνοντο, ἄνθρωποι κούφως τε ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ προλαμβάνοντες ῥαδίως τῆς φυγῆς, χωρίων τε χαλεπότητι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἐρημίας τραχέων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠδύναντο διώκειν ὅπλα ἔχοντες.

42. Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ὀλίγον οὕτω πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἠκροβολίσαντο· τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκέτι ὀξέως ἐπεκθεῖν ἢ προσπίπτοιεν δυναμένων, γνόντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ψιλοὶ βραδυτέρους ἤδη ὄντας τῷ ἀμύνασθαι, . . . καταφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔβαλλον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις, ὥς ἕκαστός τι πρόχειρον εἶχεν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς βοῆς ἅμα τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ, ἔκπληξίς τε ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις ἀήθεσι τοιαύτης μάχης, καὶ ὁ κονιορτὸς τῆς ὕλης νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω, ἄπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ λίθων ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἅμα φερομένων. 43. τό τε ἔργον ἐνταῦθα χαλεπὸν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καθίστατο· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πῖλοι ἔστεγον τὰ τοξεύματα, δοράτιά τε ἐναποκέκλαστο βαλλομένων, εἶχόν τε οὐδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι, ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἔσακούοντες, κινδύνου τε πανταχόθεν περιεστῶτος, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι.

44. Τέλος δὲ, τραυματιζομένων ἤδη πολλῶν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ξυγκλήσαντες ἐχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἔρυμα τῆς νήσου, ὃ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέειχεν, καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν φύλακας. ὥς δὲ ἐνέδοσαν, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη πολλῶ ἔτι πλέονι βοῇ τεθαρσηκότες οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐπέκειντο· καὶ τῶν

Λακεδαιμονίων ὅσοι μὲν ὑποχωροῦντες ἐγκατελαμβάνοντο ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ, διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα, μετὰ τῶν ταύτῃ φυλάκων ἐτάξαντο παρὰ πᾶν, ὥς ἀμυνόμενοι ἥπερ ἦν ἐπίμαχον. 45. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπισπόμενοι περίοδον μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν χωρίου ἰσχύϊ οὐκ εἶχον, προσιόντες δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας ὥσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ χρόνον μὲν πολλὸν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον ταλαιπωρούμενοι ἀμφοτέροι ὑπὸ τε τῆς μάχης καὶ δίψους καὶ ἡλίου ἀντεῖχον, πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐξελάσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι. ῥᾶον δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡμύναντο ἢ ἐν τῷ πρὶν, οὐκ οὔσης σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως ἐς τὰ πλάγια.

46. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει, ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς· εἰ δὲ βούλονται ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος τι καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, περιέειναι κατὰ νώτου αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ ἢ ἂν αὐτὸς εὔρη, δοκεῖν βιάσασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον. λαβὼν δὲ ἂ ἡτήσατο, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὀρμήσας, ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προβαίνων, καὶ ἢ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχύϊ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσον, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελθὼν ἔλαθεν· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανείς κατὰ νώτου αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ ἐξέπληξεν, τοὺς δὲ ἂ προσεδέχοντο ἰδόντας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. 47. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βαλλόμενοι τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη, καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτώματι (ὥς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκῆσαι) τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, — ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί τε ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενεῖα σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκρίτουν ἤδη τῶν ἐφόδων.

48. Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅτι, εἰ καὶ

ὅποσονοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδώσουσι, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ἔπαυσαν τὴν μάχην καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀπεΐρξαν, βουλόμενοι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ζῶντας, εἴ πως τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀκούσαντες ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ [τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι] καὶ ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ. ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βούλονται τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε βουλευσαί ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρήκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν, δηλοῦντες προσίεσθαι τὰ κεκηρυγμένα. **49.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, γενομένης τῆς ἀνακωχῆς, ξυνήλθον ἐς λόγους ὃ τε Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ ἐκείνων Στύφωv ὁ Φάρακος, τῶν πρότερον ἀρχόντων τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τεθνηκότος, Ἐπιτάδου, τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰππαγρέτου ἐφηρημένου ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔτι ζῶντος κειμένου ὡς τεθνεώτος, αὐτὸς τρίτος ἐφηρημένος ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τι ἐκείνοι πάσχοιεν. **50.** ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Στύφωv καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι βούλονται διακηρυκεύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ὃ τι χρὴ σφᾶς ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα ἀφέντων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καλούντων ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου κήρυκας καὶ γενομένων ἐπερωτήσεων δις ἢ τρίς, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνὴρ ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κελεύουσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βουλευέσθαι, μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας. **51.** οἱ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς βουλευσάμενοι, τὰ ὄπλα παρέδοσαν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τᾶλλα διεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῖς τριηράρχοις διεδίδονσαν ἐς φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κήρυκα πέμψαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς διεκομίσαντο.



**52.** Ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν τοσοῖδε· εἴκοσι μὲν ὀπλίται διέβησαν καὶ τετρακόσιοι οἱ πάντες· τούτων ζῶντες ἐκομίσθησαν ὀκτὼ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπέθανον. καὶ Σπαρτιᾶται τούτων ἦσαν τῶν ζώντων περὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν· ἡ γὰρ μάχη οὐ σταδία ἦν. χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας ἐγένετο ὅσον οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μάχης, ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο. τούτων περὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οἱ πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπήεσαν, ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τοῖς ἐσπλέουσι λάθρα διετρέφοντο. καὶ ἦν σῖτος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄλλα βρώματα ἐγκατελήφθη· ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων Ἐπιτάδας ἐνδεεστέρωσ ἐκάστω παρείχεν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

**53.** Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου ἑκάτεροι ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος, καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα, ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη· ἐντὸς γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ἤγαγε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη. παρὰ γνώμην τε δὴ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο· τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους οὔτε λιμῷ οὔτ' ἀνάγκῃ οὐδεμιᾷ ἠξίουν τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ ἔχοντας καὶ μαχομένους ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀποθνήσκειν. **54.** ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὁμοίους, καί τινος ἐρομένου ποτὲ ὕστερον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχων δι' ἀχθηδόνα ἓνα τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου αἰχμαλώτων εἰ οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κάγαθοι, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ, πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον (λέγων τὸν οἶστον) εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίγνωσκε, δήλωσιν ποιούμενος ὅτι ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι διεφθείρετο.

**55.** Κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβού-

λευσαν δεσμοῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβώσιν, ἣν δ' οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸ τούτου ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσβιάλλωσιν, ἐξαγαγόντες ἀποκτείνειν. τῆς δὲ Πύλου φυλακὴν κατεστήσαντο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου Μεσσηνῖοι ὡς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην (ἔστι γὰρ ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὔσης γῆς) πέμψαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ἐλλήζον τε τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πλείστα ἔβλαπτον, ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες. **56.** οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ληστείας καὶ τοιούτου πολέμου, τῶν τε Εἰλώτων αὐτομολούντων, καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον σφίσι τι νεωτερισθῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, οὐ ῥαδίως ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ, καίπερ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἔνδηλοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὴν τε Πύλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ μειζόνων τε ὠρέγοντο, καὶ πολλάκις φοιτῶντων αὐτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπον. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Πύλον γενόμενα.

# NOTES.

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## XENOPHON: ANABASIS.

THE Expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes to wrest from his possession the throne of Persia — the ANABASIS — was made in the year 401 B. C. The march from Sardis began in the spring, and about six months later a battle was fought at the village of Cunaxa, some forty or fifty miles from Babylon. In this battle Cyrus was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with his brother; and the Greeks, though victorious over that part of the opposing force which they had attacked, suffered virtual defeat in losing their leader. They had marched more than 1800 miles from Ephesus to Cunaxa. (See ii. 2. 6.) But this route, the only one with which they were acquainted, was closed to them; for the first part of it lay through the desert of Arabia, in which, had they undertaken to return as they came, they would have perished of hunger. They set out, therefore, northward under the guidance of Ariaeus, who had been the commander of the barbarian forces of Cyrus; but subsequently they entered into negotiations with the King which led to a treaty. By the terms of this treaty Tissaphernes, one of the King's four generals in the battle, was to lead them back in safety to Ionia. Beyond the Tigris, however, Tissaphernes treacherously entrapped five of the generals, four of whom were soon after put to death. Great dejection fell in consequence upon the army; but recovering their courage, especially under the exhortations of Xenophon, they elected new generals, and began their retreat along the upper waters of the Tigris and through the highlands of Armenia to the Greek colonies on the Black Sea. This "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" from the river Zapatas to Trapezus was one of incredible hardship, — a constant fight for about 700 miles through an enemy's country in the winter-time. The account of it by Xenophon contains by far the most vivid picture that has ever been given of the temper, discipline, and endurance of those citizen-soldiers who constituted the armies of Greece; and along with that an authentic and most interesting account of the tribes of

Asiatic mountaineers, who lived just outside the circle of the then civilized world. The Greeks reached Trapezus, the modern Trebizond, at the end of the winter of 400 B. C., and after a month's halt proceeded westward, partly by land and partly by sea, to Chrysopolis on the Thracian Bosphorus opposite Byzantium, which they reached in the summer. After passing over into Thrace and subsequently returning to Asia, in the spring of 399 B. C. they joined the army of Thibron, and, as the "Ten Thousand," disappeared from history. Consult more at length, on the events here described, Smith's *History of Greece*, Chap. XXXVI., or the three excellent chapters of Grote, LXIX. – LXXI. The last constitute a good running commentary on the *Anabasis*.

Cyrus the Younger, the unfortunate leader of this expedition, was the second of the four sons of Darius II., who was the grandson of Xerxes I. In 407 B. C. he was made by his father satrap of Lydia, Phrygia the Greater, and Cappadocia, and military commander (κάρανος) of the forces that mustered at Castölus (*Anab.* i. 1. 2). He could not have been at this time more than seventeen years of age at most, for he was born after his father's accession to the throne. The commission given him by Darius is found in *Hell.* i. 4. 3: καὶ Κῦρος (sc. ἀπήντησεν), ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλεῖον σφράγισμα ἔχουσιν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνὴν καὶ τάδε, Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. His high position made it possible for him to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war they were then waging with Athens. And he did this, partly at the direction of his father, who had sent with him large sums of money for this purpose, and partly from his own desire. For there is evidence that even at this time he aspired to the throne, and that foreseeing as possible what eventually took place, the succession of his brother, he was preparing to wrest the government from him by violence if need be. He became the warm friend of Lysander; and, on being summoned to his father's bedside at Babylon in 405 B. C., he turned over to the Spartan admiral the money which he had in hand, and placed at his disposal his entire personal revenue from the province of which he was satrap. The timely aid thus rendered to the Lacedaemonians did much to hasten the end of the Peloponnesian War. As to the fact that funds were furnished by Cyrus, see Thucydides ii. 65: Κύρῳ τε (sc. ἀντείχον) ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδί προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρέιχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν. An account of him from this time until his death is given in the first book of the *Anabasis*. Consult further Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. CYRUS THE YOUNGER.



Xenophon, the historian of the expedition, was an Athenian gentleman of culture, the pupil and friend of Socrates the philosopher. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known with certainty. It is generally believed, however, that he lived to be more than ninety years of age. From a story that was current in antiquity that he fought at Delium in 424 B. C., it has been concluded that at the time of the expedition of Cyrus he must have been past forty; but judging from the internal evidence afforded by the *Anabasis* itself, he could not have been at this time more than thirty. He himself relates (*Anab.* iii. 1) the circumstances under which he came to join the army of Cyrus. His friend Proxenus was already with the Persian prince, and invited Xenophon to come and join him at Sardis, promising to introduce him to Cyrus. Xenophon did this after consulting the oracle at Delphi, and at the urgent solicitations of Cyrus he joined the expedition. He does not appear, however, with any prominence until after the murder of the generals, when his rare qualities became known and he became the inspiration of the army. During their perilous retreat northward to the sea, he always showed that high-born courage and endurance that have since won the admiration of posterity as they then gained him the complete confidence of his fellow-soldiers. When in 399 B. C. the "Ten Thousand" became incorporated with the forces of Thibron, Xenophon appears to have returned to Athens, but in 396 B. C. he was again in Asia, and in 394 B. C. fought at the battle of Coronæa with the Spartans against the allies. Though an Athenian, he was anti-democratical, and much more in sympathy with the institutions of Sparta than with those of his native city. He was now banished, and took up his residence in Scillus in Elis, where in entertaining his friends, hunting, and writing, he is reported to have lived a happy life. He was subsequently expelled from Scillus by the Elæans and went to Corinth, where he died. Though the decree of banishment against him was eventually repealed, there is no evidence that he ever returned to Athens. Xenophon was a prolific writer. His most celebrated works besides the *Anabasis* are the *Memorabilia* (Memorials of Socrates) in 4 books, the *Hellenica* (a continuation of the history of Thucydides) in 7 books, and the *Cyropædæia* (an historical novel) in 8 books. His style is perspicuous and unaffected. Consult also Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. XENOPHON; and on the question of his age at the time of the *Anabasis*, an interesting article by Professor Morris in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1874.

## BOOK FIRST.

THE LEVYING OF AN ARMY. — THE MARCH TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF  
BABYLON. — THE BATTLE AT CUNAXA AND DEATH OF CYRUS.

## CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS : Darius, falling dangerously sick, summons to him his two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus (1, 2). On the King's death the former succeeds to the throne, and being persuaded by the satrap Tissaphernes that his brother is plotting against him, he has him arrested. Cyrus, saved from death only by his mother's entreaty, returns disgraced to his province and concert measures against the king (3, 4). He conciliates all who come to him, sees to his own native troops (5), and secretly collects Greek mercenaries. A part of this army he enlists in western Asia Minor, alleging as a reason that the Greek cities which have put themselves under his protection are in danger from the machinations of Tissaphernes, and lays siege to Miletus (6-8). Other Greek mercenaries are enlisted in the Thracian Chersonesus (9), in Thessaly (10), and in Greece (11).

1. **Δαρείου**, *Darius* II. or *Nothos* (**νόθος**, *bastard*), a natural son of Artaxerxes I., and a man of feeble character. He died late in 405 B. C., after a reign of nineteen years. For the case, a predicate gen. of possession, see G.\* 169, 1. — **Παρυσάτιδος**, *Parysatis*, the half-sister, as well as wife, of Darius, a woman of an intriguing and cruel disposition, and of great influence with her husband. — **γίγνονται**, *were born*. For this use of the pres., see G. 200, N. 1. — **δύο**: there were other sons (thirteen children in all), but these are the two now prominently in the mind of the writer. — **πρεσβύτερος** . . . **Κύρος**, *Artaxerxes (being) the older, Cyrus the younger*. These were *Artaxerxes* II., surnamed *Mnemon* (**μνήμων**), on account of his great memory, and *Cyrus the Younger*, so named to distinguish him from *Cyrus the Great*, founder of the Persian empire. — **ἡσθένει**, *was sick*, the impf. to denote the continuance of the state (G. 200). The aor. **ἡσθένησε** would mean *fell sick* (G. 200, N. 5 b). **ἀσθενέω** is a denominative verb (G. 128, 2 b ; 130, 2) from **ἀσθενής**, *weak*, and this from **α-** priv. (G. 131, 4 a) and **σθένος**, *strength*. — **ὕπνωπτευε**: peculiar in augment (G. 105, 1, N. 2). Give its derivation (G. 130, 4) and Latin equivalent. — **τοῦ**, *his* (G. 141, N. 2). — **τῶ παιδί**: dual, but above, the pl. (G. 33, 1). For the case, see G. 134, 2. — **παρ-εἶναι**, *to be by (him)*, i. e. at Babylon, where he died.

2. **μὲν** . . . **δέ**: used to correlate the two sentences. See the lexicon, and cf. the case in § 1. **μὲν** is not to be translated. — **οὖν**, *now*, is here continuative, not inferential. Cf. *igitur* in Lat. — **παρὼν ἐτύγχανε**, *was, as it happened, (already) there* (G. 279, 4). — **μετα-πέμπεται**, *sends for, sends after* (G. 191, VI. 3, end), *summons*. — **ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς**, *from his province*.

\* The references under G. are to the sections of Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, revised and enlarged edition of 1879.

For the prep. **ἀπό**, see G. 191, I. 2. — **σατράπῃ**: pred. acc. (G. 166). The satrap was a *viceroy*, but with great discretionary powers. According to Herod. (iii. 89), Darius I. divided the Persian empire into twenty satrapies. — **ἐποίησε**, *had made*. The Greek was content simply to refer the action to the past, without specifying the time as exactly as we do by the plup. — **καὶ . . . δὲ . . . ἀπέδειξε**, and (δέ) *he had also* (καί) *appointed him*, etc., a transition from a relative to an independent clause; not uncommon in Greek. **καί** adds the new particular of the investment of Cyrus with military authority (the office of satrap was at first chiefly a civil one); **δέ** is the conjunctive word, and the word between the two is emphatic. — **πάντων**: accent (G. 25, 3, N. 1). — **ῥοι**, *who*, lit. (*so many*) *as*, the rel. of quantity or number (G. 87, 1). — **εἰς . . . ἀθροίζονται**, *muster in the plain of Castölus*, lit. *gather themselves into*, etc. For the prep. **εἰς**, see G. 191, III. 1. **ἀθροίζονται** is not the historical pres., but pres. to denote a standing fact. It is derived from **ἀθρόος**, *close together* (G. 130, 6). The position of the plain of Castolus, a large and level tract of land in which the troops were annually reviewed, is uncertain, though probably it was in Lydia. — **ἀναβαίνει, ἀνέβη**: this change of tense from the historical pres. to the aor. is common. Note the chiasmic arrangement (**χiasmós**, *crossing*, named from the letter χ), **ἀναβαίνει λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην, ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη**. — **ὁ Κῦρος**: proper name with the art. (G. 141, N. 1 a). — **λαβὼν**: the part. denotes the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). So **ἔχων** following. — **ὡς φίλον**: Tissaphernes, at this time satrap of Caria, whom Cyrus had superseded on becoming satrap himself, was in fact his enemy, and Cyrus had him accompany him, probably because he feared to leave him behind. He proved, however, a dangerous companion. — **καὶ . . . δέ**: see above. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίου**: a body-guard selected from the Greeks then in his service. Cyrus knew well the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians as soldiers. The *hoplite*, lit. *heavy-armed (foot) soldier* (**ἄρπλον**), was armed with shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, spear, and sword. Note the suffix **της**, signifying in denominatives *one who has to do with* (G. 129, 2 b). — **ἄρχοντα**: appos. (G. 137, N. 4). — **Παρράσιον**: Parrhasia was a district of Arcadia (in the Peloponnesus) about Mt. Lycaeus.

3. **ἐτελεύτησε**, *had ended (his life), died*. See note on **ἐποίησε** in § 2. This use of the aor. for the plup. is especially common after particles of time like **ἐπεί**, etc. Cf. the Lat. historical (aoristic) perf. with *postquam*. **τελευτάω** (G. 130, 1) is derived by successive steps from **τέλος**: **τέλος**, **τελέω**, **τελευτή**, **τελευταίω**. — **καὶ κατέστη . . . Ἀρταξέρξης**, and *Artaxerxes had been established in the kingdom*, lit. *settled into*, and so **εἰς** with the acc. — **διαβάλλει**, *falsely accuses*. The current story, that Cyrus had planned to kill Artaxerxes at the time of his coronation, Xenophon evidently believed to be false. For the prep. **πρός**, see G. 191, VI. 6. — **ὡς ἐπιβουλευοί**: opt. by quot. after the idea of *saying* in **διαβάλλει** (G. 243; 201, Rem.). Give the dir. form. — **αὐτῷ**: after the compound verb (G. 187). — **ὁ δέ**, *but he* (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — **συλλαμβάνει**: cf. *comprehendere* in Lat. — **ὡς ἀποκτενῶν**, *with the avowed object of putting him to death* (G. 277, 3, and N. 2 a). — **ἐξαιτῆσα**



μένη . . . πάλιν: note the diff. between the Greek and English idioms. In Eng., *rescues* (ἐξ) *him by entreaty and sends him off again*; but in Greek, *having rescued* (G. 277, 1), lit. *begged him off, sends him*, etc. The use of the part. is much more frequent in Greek than in Eng., and in translating this fact must be constantly kept in mind. — ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: for the prep. ἐπὶ, see G. 191, VI. 2.

4. ὁ δέ: cf. note on ὁ δέ in § 3. — ὥς, *as, when*, rel. adv. of time. — ἀπήλθε: accent (G. 26, N. 1). — ἀτιμασθείς: ἀτιμάζω is derived (G. 130, 5) from ἄ-τιμος (*without honor*). Cf. τιμή, τίω. — βουλεύεται . . . ἐκείνου, *plans that he may never* (G. 283, 2) *in future be* (G. 217) *in the power of* (G. 191, VI. 2, 2, end) *his brother, but if possible may be king* (G. 223) *in his stead*. For the accent of δύνηται, see G. 122, 2, N. 2. For the prep. ἀντί, see G. 191, I. 1. — μέν: correl. to δέ, § 5; his mother's support is contrasted with the steps taken by Cyrus himself to bring about the desired end. — ὑπῆρχε, *supported*, followed by the dat. (G. 184, 2). ὑπάρχω, *to be a foundation or beginning* (ἀρχή): τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, *what one can depend on*. So fond was Parysatis of Cyrus, who in energy and spirit probably resembled her much more than did his brother, that she had endeavored before the death of Darius to induce him to name Cyrus as his successor to the throne, on the ground that he was the first son born after his own succession. It was on this ground, that he was the first son of the *King*, that Xerxes I. obtained the sovereignty. — βασιλεύοντα: the simple attributive part. (G. 276, 1) modifying as an adj. the foll. noun.

5. ἀφικνεῖτο: common usage would require ἀφικνοῖτο (G. 233, N. 1: *Moods and Tenses*, § 62, N. 1). — παρὰ βασιλέως, *from the presence of the King*, is used with τῶν as an adj., the noun ἄνδρες being omitted (G. 141, N. 3). The whole expression is compressed and would read in full: ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο παρὰ βασιλέως τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. For the prep. παρὰ, see G. 191, VI. 4. — βασιλέως: βασιλεύς, when used to designate the king of Persia, commonly omits the art. — πάντας: pl., because of the distributive force of ὅστις. — οὕτω διατιθεῖς . . . ὥστε, *so dis-posing (them) that*, etc. With δια-τίθημι, cf. Lat. dispono. — αὐτῷ: case (G. 185). So αὐτῷ below at the end. — εἶναι: result (G. 266, 1). — καὶ . . . δέ: this position of δέ, so far from the beginning of the sent., is rare. — τῶν βαρβάρων: to give a substantive a more emphatic position, it is often transferred, generally with change of case, from the dependent to the principal clause. E. g. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἐστίν, and in Eng., "See the learned Bellario how he writes." So here, normally, we should have ἐπεμελεῖτο ὥς οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ βάρβαροι πολεμεῖν, κ. τ. λ. For the case of βαρβάρων as it stands, see G. 171, 2. — πολεμεῖν: with ἱκανοί (G. 261, 1). — ὥς εἶσαν, ἔχοιεν: object clause with ὥς and the opt. (G. 217, N. 1). — εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν: ἔχω and an adverb are often joined in the sense of the verb *to be* and an adj., as καλῶς ἔχει = καλὸν ἐστίν, *it is well*, lit. *it has (itself) well*, bene habet. For the formation and derivation of εὐ-νοϊκῶς, see G. 74, 1; G. 129, 13 a.

6. τὴν δὲ . . . βασιλέα, *and he collected his* (G. 141, N. 2) *Greek force as secretly as possible* (lit. *concealing himself*, G. 277, 2, *as most he was able*),



that he might catch the King as unprepared as possible. Cyrus knew that an army of Greeks was his only hope for wresting the throne from his brother with all the resources of the empire at his command. Cf. i. 7. 3. — Ἑλληνικήν: a denom. in κόσ (G. 129, 13 a).

Page 2. — ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον: ὅτι or ὥς is very often prefixed in this way to the superlative to strengthen it. (Cf. *quam maxime*.) In these constructions there is an ellipsis of some form of δύναμαι. Sometimes in the case of the superlative with ὥς the verb is expressed, as in iii. 4. 48, ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἐπορεύετο. Cf. with this the simple ὥς τάχιστα in i. 3. 14. Cf. also with ὅτι πλείστους, as many as possible, in this section, ὥς ἂν δύνῃται πλείστους in i. 6. 3. — ὅπως λάβοι: purpose (G. 216). — ὧδε, in the following manner. — ἐποιεῖτο: middle (G. 199, 2). — συλλογήν: from συλλέγω. — φυλακάς: antecedent attracted (G. 154). Normally τῶν φυλακῶν ὁπόσων (G. 153) εἶχε, κ. τ. λ. The accent shows that φυλακάς is from φυλακή, and not from φύλαξ (G. 25, 1). State the difference in meaning of the two nouns, and for the suffix of φυλακή, see G. 129, 1. — ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι: for the prep. ἐν, see G. 191, 11. 1. — φρουράρχοις: φρουρός, *watcher, guard* (πρό and ὄράω), and ἄρχω (G. 131, 1 & 3). — λαμβάνειν, *enlist*. — ὥς . . . πόλεσι, on the ground that Tissaphernes was plotting against the cities (G. 278, 1). Compare ὥς ἀποκτενῶν in § 3. — καὶ γάρ . . . τὸ ἀρχαῖον, and (this was a plausible reason), for the cities of Ionia had originally (τὸ ἀρχαῖον, G. 160, 2) belonged to Tissaphernes (G. 169, 1). ἦσαν: impf. used with τὸ ἀρχαῖον of a time prior to the main action. ἀρχαῖος is derived from ἀρχή, *beginning* (G. 129, 12; cf. 128, 2 b). — ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένοι, *having been given* (G. 277, 6) him by (ἐκ to express the agent) the King. For the prep. ἐκ, see G. 191, I. 3. — ἀφειστήκεσαν: the perfect of ἵστημι was originally σε-στη-κα, which with the ε of the plup. (G. 101, 4) prefixed would become ε-σε-στη-κειν. The σ was then transposed and became τ, and from this form by contraction came εἰστήκειν. The form ἐστήκειν also occurs (G. 101, 4, n.). — Μιλήτου. case (G. 191, I. 5). Cyrus had not been invested by his father with the command of the Greek cities of Ionia (Grote, Chap. LXIX.), but these remained, so far as they were subject to Persian control, under the charge of Tissaphernes. When, however, after the accession of Artaxerxes, trouble arose between Cyrus and Tissaphernes, these Greek cities revolted to the former with the single exception of Miletus. See i. 9. 8, 9. This was greatly to the advantage of Cyrus, as it kept his way open to the sea. See the map.

7. προαἰσθόμενος, *having become aware* (or in Eng. more commonly, *becoming aware*) beforehand. — τὰ αὐτά: distinguish carefully from the following ταῦτα (G. 79, 2). In the pl., because the Greek looked at the action of revolting with reference to its parts; but in Eng., *this same thing*. — βουλευομένους (sc. τινάς) is in indirect discourse (G. 280). — ἀποστήναι: in app. to the preceding τὰ αὐτά ταῦτα. — τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ: *relic of the original demon. meaning of the art.* (G. 143, 1). — αὐτῶν: part. gen. (G. 168). — ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας is subordinated to συλλέξας ἐπολι-

ὀρκει, when he had taken the fugitives under his protection, he collected an army and laid siege, etc. ὑπολαβὼν καὶ (mark the conjunction) συλλέξας ἐπολιόρκει would mean when he had taken, etc., and had collected, etc., he laid siege, etc. — ἐπολιόρκει: continued action. From πόλις and εἶργω, to hem in. — καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, both by land and sea. For the prep. κατὰ, see G. 191, IV. 2. — ἐκβάλλω, to eject, banish; φεύγω, to flee, be in banishment; κατάγω, to lead back, restore from banishment; ἐκπίπτω, to fall out, be banished. — καὶ αὕτη . . . στράτευμα, and in this again he had (G. 184. 4) another pretext for collecting (G. 262, 2) an army. αὕτη in agreement with the noun in the pred., since otherwise it would be τοῦτο.

8. ἡξίου . . . αὐτοῦ: he urged (ἄξιω, to think ἄξιον, to claim) on the ground that he was (G. 277, 2) a brother of his, etc. — δοθῆναι: obj. of ἡξίου (G. 260, 1), with πόλεις for its subj. — οἱ: the indir. reflex. (G. 144, 2). Accented because it is emphatic (G. 28, N. 1). — ἄρχειν: parallel in const. το δοθῆναι, i. e. he thought it right rather that the cities should be given to him than (he thought it right) that Tissaphernes should control them. — αὐτῶν: case (G. 171, 3). — συνέπραττεν . . . αὐτῷ, co-operated with him in this, lit. did this with (σύν) him. Why is ταῦτα in the pl.? See note on τὰ αὐτὰ in § 7. — πρὸς αὐτόν: used adj. (G. 141, N. 3). πρὸς of personal relation that is hostile (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 b). — ὥστε ἡσθάνετο: ὥστε with the ind. after a full stop (G. 237). Cf. ὥστε εἶναι in § 5. — Τισσαφέρνει . . . δαπανᾷν, but thought that he (αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus) was incurring expense (G. 260, 2) about his forces, because he was at war (G. 277, 2) with Tissaphernes (G. 186, N. 1). For the prep. ἀμφί, see G. 191, VI. 1. — ὥστε . . . πολεμούντων, consequently he was not at all (οὐδέν, G. 160, 2) displeased at their being at war (G. 278, 1). — καὶ γάρ, and (the more) because, involving an ellipsis, as always. Cf. § 6. — ἀποπέμπω, to send what is due (ἀπό), remit. — ὦν: assimilation in case (G. 153). — ἐτύγχανε ἔχων, had previously, as it happened, possessed. Cf. παρὼν ἐτύγχανε in § 2. For the tense of ἐτύγχανε, cf. ἦσαν in § 6. Note throughout this sect. the use of the impf. to express continuance.

9. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: the Thracian Chersonēsus (χέρσος, later χέρρος, dry land, as opposed to water, and νῆσος, island; Lat. peninsula). See map. — Ἀβύδου: case (G. 182, 2). — τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, in the following (G. 148, N. 1) manner (G. 160, 2), equal to ὧδε in § 6. — Κλέαρχος: the general most trusted by Cyrus. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 1–15. — ἡγάσθη, came to admire (G. 200, N. 5 b), aor. of ἀγαμαι. — δίδωσιν: change to the historical pres. Cf. ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνέβη in § 2 and N. — δαρικοὺς: the darics mentioned here were gold coins worth about \$5.40. See note on i. 7. 18. — χρυσίον, gold money, more lit. a gold piece, der. from χρυσός with the suffix -ιον (see G. 129, 8). — ἀπό, by means of. — συνέλεξεν, ἐπολέμει: note the diff. in tense. — τοῖς Θραξί τοῖς . . . οἰκοῦσι: position of the attributive adj. phrase (G. 142, 2). Cf. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ, κ. τ. λ., above. The acc. Ἑλλησποντον with reference to a preceding state of motion, as in the phrase εἰς τόπον οἰκῶ, to (go into and) dwell in a place. For the prep. ὑπέρ, see G. 191, IV. 3. — εἰς, for, of purpose (G. 121, III 1 d).

— ἐκούσαι: to be translated by an adv. (G. 138, N. 7). — τοῦτο . . . στρατεύμα, and in this way again this army was secretly supported (G. 279, 4) for him.

Page 3. — 10. ξένος: in the sense often of *guest-friend*, a citizen of another state with whom one has a treaty of hospitality, used of both parties, though commonly, as here, of the *guest* as contrasted with the *host*. The word often means also simply *stranger*, and again, as below, *hired soldier*, *mercenary*. — ὑπό: for this prep., here used to express agency, see G. 191, VI. 7. — οἴκοι: used as adj. (G. 141, N. 3). For its accent, see G. 22, N. 1. — ἀντι-στασιωτῶν, *opponents*, *antagonists*. στασιώτης from στάσις, *faction* (ἵ-στα-μαι), the suffix -σι- signifying *action* (see G. 129, 3). On the force of the suffix -τα-, cf. ὀπλίτας in § 2 and note. — αἰτεῖ . . . μισθόν, *asks him for pay for* (εἰς) 2000 *mercenaries (and) for three months* (G. 167, 5). Sometimes rendered, *asks him for about* (εἰς, cf. note on εἰς, i. 2. 3) 2000 *mercenaries*, etc., but it seems impossible that Cyrus should have been willing to send off 4000 Greeks on so distant an expedition, when his whole aim was to gather Greek troops about him as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, it was an easy matter for him to furnish Aristippus the *means* for collecting this number. — ὥς . . . ἀντιστασιωτῶν, *on the ground that* (cf. the use of ὥς with ἐπιβουλεύοντος in § 6) *in this way he would get the better of his opponents*. περιγενόμενος ἂν (G. 277, 2) would, if expressed by a finite mood, be περιγένοιτο ἂν (G. 211). The prot. to this apod. is contained in οὔτω (G. 226, 1). — μή: with the inf. (G. 283, 3). — καταλῦσαι, *to end* (sc. his quarrel). — πρὶν ἂν συμβουλευῆται: πρὶν with the subj. (G. 240, 1 and 2).

11. Πρόξενον: the particular friend of Xenophon, at whose invitation the latter took part in the expedition. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 16–20. — ὥς βουλόμενος, ὥς παρεχόντων: the first ὥς shows that βουλόμενος, κ. τ. λ., gives the cause assigned by Cyrus for his command to Proxenus, the second ὥς shows that παρεχόντων does the same for βουλόμενος, while ὥς further on before πολεμήσων shows that this part. gives the purpose declared by Cyrus for ἐκέλευσεν, κ. τ. λ. The further idea, implied in the first and third cases, that the cause and the purpose were not the *true* grounds of his action, is derived from the context and is not necessarily implied by this use of ὥς. Neither is there any conditional force in the part. with ὥς. Cf. with these three cases of ὥς with the part., the places where it occurs in §§ 3, 6, and 10. — εἰς, *into the country of*. — Πισίδας: the Pisidians were a marauding race, occupying the western range of Mt. Taurus. See map. — ξένους . . . τούτους, *these* (G. 137) *also being guest-friends* (G. 136) *of his*. — σὺν τοῖς φύγασι, *with the aid of the exiles*. Cf. with this the simple dat. Τισσαφέρνει that precedes (G. 186, N. 1), and for the prep. σὺν, see G. 191, II. 2. — As stated in the prefatory note, Cyrus, on coming down to the coast as satrap, had used all the means in his power to get the good-will of the Lacedaemonians. On the termination of the Peloponnesian War in the spring of 404 B. C., many men whose lives had been wholly spent under arms were left without employment. This made it



the easier now for Cyrus to collect the army that he wished, an army of trained veterans that could be thoroughly depended upon in a dangerous enterprise. Some of those who accompanied him were, like Xenophon, men of a superior grade, disheartened by the political condition of things that followed the war, and drawn into this expedition by personal admiration for the prince, or personal attachment to some of his officers.

## CHAPTER II.

**SYNOPSIS:** Cyrus, being now ready to set out inland, assembles his troops at Sardis, announcing, in order to conceal his real object, his intention of expelling the Pisidians from their territory (1-4). The king, informed of the real facts by Tissaphernes, makes ready to meet him. Cyrus sets out from Sardis and marches through Lydia across the Maeander to Colossae in Phrygia, where he is joined by Menon (5, 6). Thence he proceeds to Celaenae, a city which the historian describes at some length, where he waits a month and is joined by the rest of his Greek troops. He reviews and numbers these (7-9). Thence he proceeds northwest through Peltae to Κεραμῶν ἀγορά (11), and then east to Καῦστρου πεδῖον, where Epyaxa, the wife of the king of Cilicia, meets him and furnishes him money with which to pay his troops (11, 12). Thence southeast to Thymbrium and Tyriaeum, where he reviews his whole army (13-18). Thence through Iconium into Lycaonia (19). From here Menon, accompanied by Epyaxa, proceeds due south into Cilicia; Cyrus northeast to Dana (20). After some delay caused by the king of Cilicia, Cyrus himself crosses the mountains and enters Tarsi, which had been abandoned by the king (21-24). Menon had reached this city five days before, having lost two companies in the passage of the mountains (25). Syennesis the king finally obeys a summons from Cyrus, and they seal their compact of friendship with gifts (26, 27).

1. ἐπεὶ . . . ἄνω, *but when at length it seemed good* (not simply *it seemed*, cf. note on i. 3. 11) *to him to proceed* (G. 202, with 1) *inland*. More than a year had been spent in preparation. ἄνω, *up, inland, from the coast*. So ἀνα-βαίνω, ἀνά-βασις. — τὴν μὲν . . . βουλόμενος, *he gave as his pretext indeed (that he was going) because he wished*. Note the voice of ἐποιεῖτο (G. 199, 2). μὲν *implies* the clause with δέ, which if expressed might be, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἐπορεύετο. On ὡς βουλόμενος, cf. the note on ὡς βουλόμενος in i. 1. 11. — ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ: *prep. repeated, as often*. — παντά-πασιν: *der.?* — ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους, *avowedly against these*. — τὸ βαρβαρικόν: *sc. στράτευμα*. So with τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Note the suffix κός (G. 129, 13 a), and cf. ξενικού, below. — ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἤκειν, *to come there also*, i. e. to Sardis, § 4. — λαβόντι, *with* (G. 277, 6). — ὅσον . . . στράτευμα, *whatever troops he had*. Cf. ὅσας εἶχε φυλακάς in i. 1. 6, with the note, and δ εἶχε στράτευμα, below. This attraction of the antecedent (G. 154) is a common const. in Eng. also. — Ἀριστίππῳ: Aristippus did not come in person, but sent Menon (i. 2. 6, and ii. 6. 28). — συναλλαγέντι: cf. for the meaning καταλῦσαι in i. 1. 10. — ἀπο-πέμψαι: cf. note on ἀπέπεμπε in i. 1. 8. — τοῦ ξενικού: *sc. στρατεύματος*, and for the case



see G. 171, 3. — λαβόντα : so far removed from *Ξενία*, with which we should expect it to agree (cf. λαβόντι and συναλλαγέντι, above), that it takes the case of the (unexpressed) subject of ἤκειν. See G. 138, N. 8 b (*Dat.*). — πλὴν : sc. τοσοῦτων (G. 191, I. 5) as antecedent to ὅποσοι (G. 87, 1). — ἀκροπόλεις : show how ἀκρό-πολις came to have the meaning of *citadel*.

2. ἐκάλεσε : short vowel of the stem retained (G. 109, 1, N. 2 b). — ἐκέλευσε, *urged*. Note the chiasmic arrangement, ἐκάλεσε δὲ τοὺς πολιορκούντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε. — ὑποσχόμενος . . . οἶκαδε, *promising* (see ὑπισχνέομαι) *them, if he should successfully accomplish the objects* (G. 152) *for which he was taking the field, not to stop until he should restore them to their homes* (οἶκαδε, G. 61). Verbs of *promising* (G. 203, N. 2) may take the infinitive either *in indirect discourse* (i. e. the future), or *not in indirect discourse* (G. 202) as here. (The fut. παύσεσθαι here has only the authority of a correction in one MS.) The dependent verbs, however, except ἐστρατεύετο, are constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (G. 248, 1), and we might have had ἂν καταπράξῃ and πρὶν ἂν καταγάγῃ, representing ἂν καταπράξω and πρὶν ἂν καταγάγω of the direct form. On the other hand, ἐστρατεύετο, for which, on the principles of indirect discourse, we might have had either στρατεύοιτο or στρατεύεται (as representing στρατεύομαι of the direct form), is not included in the indirect discourse, but is constructed like an ordinary past verb (like those mentioned in G. 243, N. 2); for a fuller explanation of this, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 77, 1, N. 2; § 74, 2, N. 2; § 70, N. 2. — πρόσθεν πρὶν : cf. i. 1. 10, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 67, N. 4. — ἡδέως : adv. der. from ἡδύς (G. 74, 1).

Page 4. — αὐτῷ : dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — παρήσαν εἰς, *arrived at, i. e. came to* (εἰς) *Sardis and were by* (παρ-ῆσαν) *it*. The army was encamped probably outside the city, so that εἰς means simply *to*. Sardis was the capital of Lydia and at this time the residence of Cyrus as satrap. See map.

3. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων : cf. τῶν παρὰ βασιλείως in i. 1. 5, and the N. — εἰς, *to the number of*, with numerals (G. 191, III. 1, c). This word and ἀμφί, *about* (G. 191, VI. 1, 3), when used in this sense, are still prepositions and take the numeral in the accus. Cf. πελτασταὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἰσχιλίους, *about two thousand* (acc.) *peltasts* (nom.) below in § 9, where ἀμφί . . . δισχιλίους is an adj. phrase. ὥς and ὅσον, on the other hand, are in this sense adverbs and do not affect the case of the numeral that follows. — γυμνήτας : the accent determines the dec. to which the noun belongs, the termination -ας being long in the first dec. and short in the third (G. 22, 2). The term γυμνής, *light-armed soldier* (der. from γυμνός, with which cf. the use of ψιλοί in iii. 3. 7), as opposed to *hoplite*, is generic, and comprehends the πελταστής, *targeteer*, τοξότης, *bowman*, and σφενδονήτης, *slinger*. — ὥς, *about*, see note on εἰς, above. — Μεγαρεύς : for the suffix see G. 129, 10. — ἦν : in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, N. 1). — τῶν στρατευομένων : pred. part. gen. (G. 169, 1).

4. οὗτοι μὲν : in contrast with those who joined him later (§ 6 and § 9). Sentences in Greek begin in general, contrary to the practice in Eng., with a conjunction. The exceptions to this principle in Xen. are mainly such

sentences as begin with demonstratives or adverbs of place; cf. οὔτοι μὲν, κ. τ. λ., here, τούτου τὸ εὖρος, κ. τ. λ., in § 5, τοῦτον διαβάς, κ. τ. λ. and ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν, κ. τ. λ., in § 6, etc. Such sentences are called cases of *asyndeton* (ἀ-σύν-δετον, δέω, *to bind*). — αὐτῷ: dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). — Τισσαφέρνης πορεύεται, κ. τ. λ.: he declares this himself in ii. 3. 19. — κατα-νοήσας, *remarking, seeing*. — ἡγησάμενος: der. from the same root as ἄγω. It has, like *duco* in Lat., the two general meanings of *to lead* and *to think*. — εἶναι: quoted inf. (G. 260, 2). — μέizonα ἢ ὥς, *too extensive to be, lit. greater than as (it would be, if), etc.* — ὥς before βασιλέα, *to*, used only with the acc. of a person (G. 191, III. 2). — βασιλέα: cf. note on βασιλέως in i. 1. 5. — ἥ . . . τάχιστα, *as rapidly as possible, lit. in what way* (sc. ὁδῶ, G. 188, 1) *he could most quickly*. — ἱππέας: a denominative in εὐς (G. 129, 2 a).

5. ἤκουσε: with double obj. (G. 171, 2, N. 1). — οὓς: antec. omitted (G. 152). — ὥρμᾶτο: the march began in the spring of 401 B. C. — ἀπό: not ἐξ, *out of*, because the army was not encamped *within* the city. — διά, *through* (G. 191, IV. 1). — σταθμούς τρεῖς, *three days' journey* (G. 161). The σταθμός was properly the *halting* (ἵσταμαι) *place* (cf. Lat. *sta-bulum*), and so the *day's journey* or *march* that preceded. — παρασάγγας: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). The *parasang* was a Persian measure equal to 30 stadia (ii. 2. 6), or about a league ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  statute miles). — εἴκοσι καὶ δύο: note the conj. (G. 77, 2, N. 2). This made their rate of travel greater than ordinary; according to vii. 8. 26, the average rate was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  parasangs per day. — Μαίανδρον: position (G. 142, 2, N. 6). Give the Eng. der. See map. — πλέθρα: the *plethrum* measured about 101 Eng. feet. — γέφυρα . . . ἐπτά, *and there was a pontoon-bridge over (it) made of seven boats* (G. 188, 1).

6. διαβάς: relatively *past* (G. 204). Still we render loosely, *crossing this*, etc. — οἰκουμένην, *inhabited*, many of the cities of Asia being then, as now, deserted, ἔρημοι. — εὐδαίμονα, *prosperous*. Give its der. — ἡμέρας: acc. of extent of time (G. 161). — Μένων: the general sent by Aristippus. An unfavorable account of him is given in ii. 6. 21–29.

7. ἐνταῦθα . . . ἦν, *there Cyrus had* (G. 184, 4) *a palace*. — βασιλεια: sc. δώματα. With the pl. used in this way of the separate buildings composing the palace, cf. *aedes* in Lat. Distinguish this word from βασιλεια and βασιλεία (both of the first dec.) respectively. — ἦν: agreeing with the nearer subj. (G. 135, 2, and N. 1). — παράδεισος: a Persian word meaning properly *a walled place*. What is the Eng. der.? — θηρίων: limiting πλήρης (G. 180, 1; 172, 1). — ἀπὸ ἵππου, *on horseback*, lit. *from a horse*, because in hunting the attack upon the animal hunted proceeds *from* the horse. Where this relation is not to be expressed, the phrase is ἐφ' ἵππου, as in iii. 4. 49, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, *he led them on horseback*. — ὅποτε βούλοιο: a cond. rel. sent. expressing a gen. supposition in past time (G. 233). — διὰ . . . παραδείσου, *and through the middle* (G. 142, 4, N. 4) *of the park*, etc. — αὐτοῦ: in the pred. pos. (G. 142, 4, N. 3 a). — πηγαὶ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων: the more precise statement would be ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, but the gen. is used with ἐκ with reference to the subsequent flowing of the water *out from (under) the palace*.

Page 5. — 8. ἔστι: accent (G. 28, N. 1 (1), end). — ἐπί, *close upon*, with the dat. and a verb of rest. So ὑπό (next line), *under, at the foot of*. — καὶ οὗτος, *this also*, i. e. the Marsyas as well as the Maeander. — ἐμβάλλει, *empties*, intransitively. — ποδῶν: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3). — λέγεται . . . ἐκδεῖραι, *Apollo is said to have flayed*, etc., the pers. const. for the impers., λέγεται Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκδεῖραι. The dir. form of the anecdote would be ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλων ἐξέδειρε . . . ἐκρέμασε (G. 246, with note). Μαρσύαν: Marsyas is said to have challenged Apollo to a musical contest, on the terms that the vanquished should be at the mercy of the victor. When Apollo gained the day, he punished Marsyas for his insolence by hanging him to a tree and flaying him alive. (See *Marsyas* in a Class. Dict.) — ἐρίζοντα (G. 277, 2), *in a contest*. — οἱ as indir. reflexive (G. 144, 2 a) refers to Apollo. — περί: properly *around* (G. 191, VI. 5). So in a derived sense here, *concerning*, Lat. *de*. — σοφίας, *musical skill*, lit. *wisdom*, der. from σοφός (G. 129, 7). — δέρμα: note the suff. ματ-, signifying the *result* of the action (G. 129, 4), and for the stem cf. ἐκ-δεῖραι (δερ-), above. δείρω shows the same root that the Eng. word *tear* does. — ὅθεν, *whence*, for ὅθι or οὖ, *where* (G. 87, 2). Cf. εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων in § 7 and note. — διὰ: with the acc. *on account of* (G. 191, IV. 1, 2). — Μαρσύας: pred. nom. (G. 136).

9. τῇ μάχῃ, *in the well-known (τῇ) battle* (G. 188, 1), that of Salamis, 480 B. C. For the suffix of μάχῃ, see G. 129, 1. — λέγεται οἰκοδομήσαι: cf. λέγεται ἐκδεῖραι in § 8 and the note. — τοξότας Κρήτας: the Cretan bowmen were celebrated in antiquity. — Σοφαίνετος: if this is the general mentioned in § 3, the purpose for which he had been left behind must remain in doubt. The numbers given in the preceding sections and the sum total given here (at the end of the section) will not tally. — ἐξέτασιν: from ἐξ-ετάω, *to examine thoroughly*, ἐτάω, from ἐτέος, *real*. — ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, *the whole together amounted to*. — ὀπλίται, πελτασταί: a case of part. appos. (G. 137, N. 2). The second of these nouns is used generically for *light-armed troops* in general, including the γυμνήτες (§ 3) and the τοξόται (mentioned in this section). — ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους: see note on εἰς in § 3.

10. Up to this time the march has been southeast. Cyrus now turns back and marches northwest as far as Κεραμῶν ἀγορά, probably with the double object of increasing his supplies and getting on the main high-road to the east. — ἐν αἷς: sc. ἡμέραις. — τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε, *celebrated the Lycaea with sacrifice*, a festival in honor of Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος, so named from Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. τὰ Λύκαια is a cogn. acc. (G. 159). Cf. the phrase πέμπειν Βοηδρόμια, *to celebrate the Boedromia by a procession*. — ἦσαν: in agreement with the pred. nom. (G. 135, N. 4). — στλεγγίδες: a sort of tiara, made of gold, as here stated, and worn as an ornament for the head. — χρυσαῖ: der. from χρυσός (G. 129, 14). — Κεραμῶν: probably the gen. of Κεραμοί, *the Ceramians*, though this is uncertain. With Κεραμῶν ἀγορά cf. the Eng. *Newmarket*. — ἐσχάτην πρὸς, *the last bordering on, on the road to*.

11. The rate at which Cyrus marched these three days was very rapid.



His object probably was to meet Epyaxa before his troops became clamorous for their pay. — **Καῦστρου πεδίον**, the name of a town (lit. *plain of the Caijster*), a compound noun like **Κεραμῶν ἀγορά**, above. Cf. the Eng. names of places, *Dartmoor* and *Springfield*. — **ᾠφέλειτο**, *there was due*. — **πλέον**: used indeclinably for **πλέονων**. — **θύρας**, *quarters*, just as **ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις** in i. 9. 3 means *at court*. — **ὁ δὲ . . . διῆγε**, *but he continually put them off with the hope (of getting their pay)*. — **ἀνιῶμενος**: quoted after **δῆλος ἦν** (G. 280, N. 1). — **πρός**, *in accordance with* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — **τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον**: the article limits **τρόπου** (G. 142, 1). — **ἐχοντα**, *when able* (G. 138, N. 8 b).

Page 6. — **ἀπ-ήτουν**, **ἀπο-διδόναι**: note the force of the preposition. But in § 12 simply **δοῦναι**, because Cyrus had in fact no claims on Epyaxa.

12. Syennesis is said to have pursued a double policy and to have endeavored to propitiate both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, determined to keep his throne whichever of the two prevailed. The kings of Cilicia were at this time tributary to Persia. On the Ionic gen. in **Συεννέσιος**, see G. 53, 1, N. 3. — **τοῦ βασιλέως**: note the article. — **ἐλέγετο δοῦναι**: the pers. const., but below **ἐλέγετο συγγενίσθαι Κύρον**. — **οὖν**, *at any rate*, i. e. however he got the money, he *at any rate* certainly had it to pay his troops with. Cf. **οὖν**, below, in §§ 22, 25. — **στρατιᾷ**: his *Greek* army. — **φύλακας**: note the accent, and cf. the note on **φυλακάς** in i. 1. 6.

13. **παρά**: with the acc. because of the course of the water, after it has left the **κρήνη**, *along by* the road. Cf. **πηγαὶ ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων** in § 7 and the note. — **κρήνη . . . καλουμένη**, *the so-called* (G. 276, 1) *spring of Midas*, lit. *the spring called (that) of Midas*. — **τὸν Σάτυρον**: Midas, the proverbially wealthy king of Phrygia, is said to have caught the satyr Silenus (the early protector and constant companion of Bacchus) by making the fountain here mentioned flow with wine, instead of water. Another form of the story appears in the account of the "Gardens of Midas," placed by Herodotus (viii. 158) in Macedonia, in which Silenus is said to have been made prisoner by garlands of roses. — **οἶνω . . . αὐτήν**, *by mixing wine in it*, lit. *by mixing it with wine* (the means, G. 188, 1).

14. **Κύρου**: genitive object of **δεηθῆναι** (G. 172, N. 1). The object inf. **ἐπιδειξαι** (G. 260, 1) is in this case the acc. — **βουλόμενος**: Cyrus was the more willing to gratify her, since he saw the advantage of giving Syennesis a vivid impression of the strength of his army. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων**: the article repeated, because the Greeks and barbarians are not viewed as a single army, but as separate forces.

15. **ὥς . . . μάχην**, *as their custom (was) for battle* (sc. **ταχθῆναι**). **νόμος**, *regulation, custom, law*, from **νέμω**, *to distribute, portion out*. — **στήναι**, *to take their places, not to stand*. — **ἐκαστον**: sc. **στρατηγόν**. — **ἐπὶ τεττάρων**, *four deep*. This made the front of the army very extended. — **εἶχε**: in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, N. 1). — **τὸ μὲν δεξιόν, κ. τ. λ.**: the positions were respectively *the right, the left, and the centre*, named in the order of danger and honor. *The right* was the most honorable position, because a flank attack on this side left the soldier unprotected, the shield



being carried on the left arm. — εὐώνυμον: εὖ and ὄνομα, properly of good name or omen. Hence left, used euphemistically to avoid the ill-omened word ἀριστερός, omens from the left being unlucky with the Greeks.

16. πρῶτον μὲν: correlated by εἶτα δέ in the next line. For the comparison of πρῶτος, see G. 73, 2. — κατ' ἱλας . . . τάξεις, by (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c) troops and companies, respectively of cavalry and infantry. — τάξεις (ταγ-σις), properly a drawing up, as of troops, see G. 129, 3. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας: governed by ἐθεώρει, above. — παρέλαύνων: Cyrus rode by the Greeks with Epyxa rather than have them march by him, probably because in this way they presented a more solid and imposing front. — ἄρμα, chariot (two-wheeled); ἄμαξα, wagon; ἄρμ-άμαξα, easy-carriage (four-wheeled), for women and children. — χαλκᾶ: derived from χαλκός (G. 129, 14). — ἐκκεκαλυμμένas, uncovered, a circumstantial part. of manner (G. 277, 2).

17. στήσας: first aorist and so transitive; for its relation to πέμψας, see note on ὑπολαβών in i. 1. 7. — πρό, before (G. 191, I. 4 a). — μέσης: cf. μέσου in § 7 and note. — προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, to present (throw before themselves their) arms. — ὄλην τὴν φάλαγγα, the phalanx in a body (G. 142, 4, N. 5). — οἱ δέ, but they (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — ἐσάλπιγξε: an impers. verb (G. 134, N. 1 d). — ἐκ δὲ . . . σκηνάς, and they (sc. αὐτῶν, G. 278, 1) after this (G. 191, I. 3 b) advancing more and more rapidly with a shout, of their own accord the soldiers (G. 184, 4) began to run toward the camp.

Page 7. — αὐτόματος, acting of one's own will (αὐτός and μάω, to desire eagerly), Eng. automaton. — ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς: to give the barbarians the impression that they intended an attack. In the next section the Greeks, it is said, ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, dispersed to their own tents.

18. βαρβάρων: subjective gen. (G. 167, 2). With φόβος, sc. ἦν. — καὶ . . . τε . . . καὶ: the first καὶ connects the statement that precedes with the double (τε . . . καὶ, both . . . and) one that follows. — οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον, i. e. οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον. Cf. § 3, and i. 1. 5. — λαμπρότητα: from λαμπρός (see G. 129, 7). — τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος: position (G. 142, 2, N. 2, end). — ἥσθη: see ἥδομαι. — τὸν . . . ἰδὼν, seeing the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians (G. 141, N. 3).

19. ταύτην . . . Ἕλλησιν, this country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder (G. 265). It is at this point that Cyrus first gets out of his own satrapy. — πολέμιος: from πόλεμος (G. 129, 12). — ὡς οὖσαν, on the ground that it was (G. 277, N. 2).

20. τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν, by the shortest road (G. 159, N. 5), peculiar use of the cogn. acc. (G. 159) to include the road or way over which motion proceeds. — ἀποπέμπει, συνέπεμψεν: cf. note on ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνέβη, i. 1. 2. — στρατιώτας: without the article, as if attracted into the rel. clause, οὗς στρατιώτας, κ. τ. λ. (G. 154). — αὐτόν, himself, i. e. Menon. — μετά: properly among (G. 191, VI. 3). Here in company with. — Δάνα: a neut. pl. See map for the two routes into Cilicia here mentioned. — ἐν ᾧ: sc. χρόνῳ, and cf. ἐν αἷς in § 10. — φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον, a wearer of the royal purple (φοῖνιξ), i. e. a nobleman of the highest rank. — καὶ ἕτερον . . . δυνάστην, and a certain other powerful man of his subordinates. In i. 8. 5

Ariæus is called ὑπαρχος (lit. *subordinate commander*). Give the Eng. der. from δυνάστης. — ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ: his charge was, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἑμοί (G. 260, 2).

21. ἡ εἰσβολή: the so-called Πύλαι τῆς Κιλικίας. — ἀμαξ-ιτός: give the der. and cf. G. 131, 1. — ἀμήχανος . . . στρατεύματι, *impracticable for an army* (G. 184, 3) to enter (261, 1). — εἴ τις ἐκώλυνεν, *if there was anybody to oppose* (lit. *trying to prevent*, G. 200, N. 2) them. — εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων: not with the intention of real opposition, but to give color to his asserted allegiance to the king. — εἶναι: quoted (G. 246). — διὸ, *wherefore*, i. e. διὰ ὃ. — ὑστεραία: sc. ἡμέρα. For the case, see G. 189. — ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἶη, κ. τ. λ.: the messenger's announcement continues to the end of the section. He said, λέλοιπε, or λελοιπῶς ἐστί (see G. 118, 4), Συέννεσις, κ. τ. λ., *Syennesis has left the heights since* (ἐπεὶ) *he learned*, etc., and *because* (καὶ ὅτι) *he heard*, etc. The clause beginning ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος is quoted after ᾗσθετο (see on this form G. 247, with N. 2), ᾗν occurring where εἶη or ἐστί would be more regular (G. 243, N. 2). The order of the last of the sentence is, ὅτι ἤκουε (G. 247) Ταμῶν (G. 42, 2) ἔχοντα (G. 280) τριήρεις περιπλεύσας. The τριήρεις περιπλεύσας, being a much more important fact than the Ταμῶν ἔχοντα, is put first, and seems to be the clause quoted after ἤκουε, but is not.

22. οὖν, *at any rate*, i. e. whatever the reason was that Syennesis left the heights. Cf. § 12. — οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, *without hindrance*, manner (G. 278, 1). — τὰς σκηνάς, *the camp*, antecedent of the relative adverb οὐ, *where*.

Page 8. — ἐφύλαττον: cf. ἦσαν in i. 1. 6, ἐτύγχανεν in i. 1. 8. — ἀνέβη, κατέβαιναν: mark the change of tense. — ἐπίρρυτον: der.? see G. 15, 2. — δένδρων: with σύμπλεων (G. 180, 1). — σύμπλεων: Attic second dec. (G. 64). — πολὺ: agreement (G. 138, N. 1 α). — φέρει: not the hist. pres. Cf. note on ἀθροίζονται, i. 1. 2. — ὄρος (Mt. Taurus) δ' αὐτὸ (i. e. τὸ πεδῖον) περιέχει, κ. τ. λ.: see the map.

23. Ταρσοῦς, *Tarsi* or *Tarsus*, the birthplace of St. Paul. — ἦσαν: irregular agreement (G. 135, 2). Cf. § 7. — μέσου: neut. of μέσος used as a noun, as in the phrase μέσον ἡμέρας, *midday*. The following gen. is part. (G. 167, 6). — ὄνομα, εὖρος: acc. of specification (G. 160, 1). — πλεθρῶν: limits ποταμός (G. 167, 5), not εὖρος.

24. οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες: substantively (G. 276, 2). — εἰς, ἐπὶ: with the acc. in each case, because of the subsequent motion implied in ἐξέλιπον, *abandoned the city for (and fled into) a stronghold up on the mountains*. — πλὴν οἱ . . . ἔχοντες: sc. οὐκ ἐξέλιπον. — οἱ παρὰ . . . οἰκοῦντες: cf. τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, i. 1. 9 and note. Those that remained did so for purposes of trade with the army and fleet respectively.

25. προτέρα . . . ἀφίκετο, *reached Tarsi five days* (G. 188, 2) *before* (G. 138, N. 7) *Cyrus* (G. 175, 1). For the comparison of πρότερος, see G. 73, 2. — εἰς τὸ πεδῖον: adjectively (G. 142, 1 N. & 2). — οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ, *some . . . others* (G. 143, 1). — ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπήναι, *had been cut to pieces* (G. 260, 2) *while committing some act of plunder* (G. 159, N. 2). — τὸ ἄλλο, *the rest of* (G. 142, 2, N. 3). — εἴτα, *then*, taking up the two pre-

ceding participles. — οὖν, *however that was*. Cf. § 22. — ἑκατόν: ordinarily a single λόχος numbered 100 men.

26. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, i. e. of Menon's army. Emphatic position, as also below, Κῦρος δὲ ἐπέλ, κ. τ. λ. — τοὺς Ταρσοὺς: appositive (G. 137). — διήρπασαν: mark the force of the prep. — μετεπέμπετο πρὸς ἑαυτόν, *summoned repeatedly to himself*. Cf. μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. 1. 2. — ὁ δ' οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . ἤθελε, *but he both declared that he had never before, etc., and was then unwilling*, etc. The Greek often says οὐκ ἔφη ἐλθεῖν, where we say *he said that he did not go*, οὐ φημι having the sense *I deny*. Here οὔτε . . . ἔφη . . . οὔτε . . . ἤθελε, lit. *he neither declared (i. e. he denied) nor wished*, is perfectly regular, though it cannot be translated literally. In οὔτε . . . ἔφη the direct discourse was ἦλθον (G. 246); in οὔτε . . . ἤθελε there is no indirect discourse. — οὐδενί (G. 283, 9): the dat. follows εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν (G. 186, N. 1), which implies *union* or *approach*, and commonly means *to come to a conflict with* some one, and here properly *to come into close relations with (or into the hands of)* some one. See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. χεῖρ, II. d. — ἰέναι: sc. εἰς χεῖρας. — πρὶν ἔπεισε, ἔλαβε (G. 240, 1). Note the change of subject in ἔλαβε.

27. Κῦρος δέ: sc. ἔδωκε. — παρὰ βασιλεῖ, *at court*, i. e. at the great King's, the article being omitted. — χρυσο-χάλινον, *with gold-studded bridle* (χαλινός). — ἀκινάκην, *a short sword*.

Page 9. — ἀφαρπάσθαι: one of the obj. of ἔδωκε supplied above (G. 260, 1). So ἀπολαμβάνειν in the next line. — τὰ δὲ . . . ἀπολαμβάνειν, *and (the privilege of) taking back the slaves that had been seized, if they* (i. e. Syennesis and the Cilicians) *should fall in with them* (i. e. the slaves) *anywhere* (G. 223). The apodosis is the inf. (fut. in time) ἀπολαμβάνειν. In place of ἦν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν we might have had εἴ που ἐντυγχάνοιεν (G. 248, 1).

### CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: A delay of 20 days at Tarsi is caused by the Greek soldiers, who now suspect that they are being led against Artaxerxes and refuse to go farther. Clearchus, who attempts to force his own troops forward, narrowly escapes being stoned to death. Afterwards, seeming to yield to their wishes, he calls them together and after shedding many hypocritical tears (1-3) details the benefits he has received at the hands of Cyrus, but nevertheless declares his intention to desert him and accompany them wherever they may go (4-6). More than 2000 men desert Xenias and Pasion, and encamp with Clearchus (7). Cyrus sends for Clearchus, who refuses to go but returns an encouraging message (8). Clearchus again assembles his soldiers, and in a cunningly constructed address points out to them the difficulties which lie in the way of their withdrawal from Cyrus (9-12). He is followed by several others (13), one of whom proposes a plan at some length which another immediately proves to be nonsense, both acting at the secret suggestion of Clearchus. They finally agree to send to Cyrus and ask his designs (14-19). Cyrus answers that he wishes to march against Abrocōmas, and promises them half again as much pay as before, whereupon they agree to follow him (20, 21).



1. οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵναι, *refused to go, said they would not go*. Cf. i. 2. 26, and note, and μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν, below. — τοῦ πρόσω, *forward*, a prose use of the gen. of place (G. 179, 2), like the adverbs in ου, as ποῦ, *where*, ὁμοῦ, *in the same place, together*, etc. — ὑπώπτευνον: cf. i. 1. 1. — ἐπὶ τούτῳ, *for this* (G. 191, VI. 2, 2 a). — πρῶτος: he was *the first* to do it; πρῶτον would mean, he did this *first*, and something else afterwards. πρῶτον μὲν, on the other hand (correl. to εἰτα δέ below in § 2), means *in the first place*. Cf. i. 2. 16. — ἐβιάζετο: *attempted action* (G. 200, N. 2). But below the aor. ἤρξατο, (*actually*) *began to move forward*. Clearchus is said in ii. 6. 8 to have been a man of stern will. — ἔβαλλον, *stoned*, sc. τοῖς λίθοις (G. 188, 1), as appears from καταπετρωθῆναι in § 2.

2. μικρόν, *by a little, narrowly* (G. 160, 2). — μή: added to the inf. to strengthen the neg. idea contained in ἐξέφυγε (G. 283, 6). — καταπετρωθῆναι, *being stoned to death* (κατά). — ἔγνω, *had come to know* (cf. note on ἐτελεύτησε, i. 1. 3), and so *perceived*. — ὅτι δυνήσεται: quoted (G. 243; 280, N. 3). — ἐκ-κλησία (καλέω): the Eng. der.? — ἐδάκρυε . . . ἐστῶς, *stood* (G. 124, 1) and *wept a long time* (G. 161). — τοιᾶδε: with ref. to what follows (G. 148, N. 1).

3. ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, *fellow-soldiers*, ἄνδρες prefixed as a term of respect, as in the phrase of the courts, ἄνδρες δικασταί. Clearchus deals with the difficulty with great skill. — μὴ θαυμάζετε: pres. imperative in prohibition (G. 254). — χαλεπῶς . . . πράγμασιν, *am greatly distressed* (φέρω intrans.) *on account of the present troubles* (G. 188, 1). πράγμα is properly *the thing done* (G. 129, 4). — ξένος: cf. note on ξένος in i. 1. 10. — ἐγένετο, *became*, not *was*, cf. i. 1. 9. — τά τε . . . καί, *both honored in other ways* (G. 160, 1) and *in particular*, etc. — οὓς . . . οὐκ . . . ἐδαπάνων, *which I did not, when I had received them, lay up for myself* (used reflexively) *for private use* (or, more freely, *did not devote to my own personal use*), and (lit. but) *did not even squander in pleasure* (κατά, ἡδύς, πάσχω), *but expended* (impf.) *on you*.

4. ὑπέρ, *for, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 b). — ἐτιμωρούμην (sc. αὐτούς), *took vengeance upon or punished (them)*. τιμωρεῖν = *to avenge*, τιμωρεῖσθαι (mid.) = *to avenge one's self upon* (some one). — ἀφαιρεῖσθαι: double obj. (G. 164, with N. 2). — ἵνα . . . ἐκείνου, *that, in case he should have* (we might have had εἰάν τι δέχεται, G. 248, N.; *Moods and Tenses*, § 55, 2) *any* (G. 172, N. 1) *need (of me)*, *I might aid* (G. 216, 1) *him in return for the benefits I had received from him*, i. e. ἀντὶ τούτων ὧν (G. 153, with N. 1) εὖ ἔπαθον (G. 165, N. 12) ὑπ' ἐκείνου.

5. ὑμεῖς: emphatic (G. 144, 1). So ἐγώ, below. Cf. also the beginning of § 6. — ἀνάγκη: sc. ἐστί. — φιλία: an *instrumental dat.* (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — εἰ, *whether* (G. 282, 4). — δίκαια: der. from δίκη (G. 129, 12). — οὖν: cf. note on οὖν, i. 2. 12. — ὅ τι ἂν δέη (sc. πάσχειν): a cond. rel. sent. (G. 232, 3). — οὐποτε οὐδέις: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). — ὡς εἰλόμην: quoted without change of *mood* (G. 243). Give the form of the verb in dir. disc. — ἀγαγόν, προδούς: for the relation of the two participles, see the note on ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας in i. 1. 7, and cf. στήσας . . . πέμψας . . . ἐκέλευσε in i. 2. 17.



Page 10. — 6. ἡμοί: dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — ὅ τι . . . πείσομαι: for the use of the moods, cf. § 5, above. — καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καί, *equally . . . and . . . and*. — σὺν ὑμῖν, i. e. *if I should remain with you*, is the prot. (G. 226, 1) to the following ἀν εἶναι, which stands by quot. (G. 246) for ἀν εἶην. In the alternative sentence that follows, the prot. to ἀν εἶναι lies in ἔρημος ὧν, = εἰ . . . εἶην (G. 226, 1; 277, 4). The cond. rel. clause ὅπου ἀν ὦ, *ubique ero*, presents the supposed future case more vividly than the more regular ὅπου εἶην would have done, — *wherever I may be, for wherever I might be*. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 63, 4, (α). The opt. with ἀν, it should be remembered, is sometimes merely a softened expression for the fut. indic. (G. 226, 2, N. 1). — τίμιος: der. from the same stem with τιμή (G. 129, 12). — ὑμῶν: gen. after an adj. of *want* (G. 180, 1). — οὐκ ἀν ἱκανὸς εἶναι (= οὐκ ἀν ἱκανὸς εἶην): ἀν (still belonging to εἶναι) is repeated after οὐτε before each of the dependent infinitives (G. 212, 2). — ὠφελῆσαι, ἀλέξασθαι: infinitives limiting ἱκανός (G. 261, 1). — ὥς . . . ἔχετε, *be of this opinion, therefore, that I shall go, etc.*; or more lit., to show the force of the causal gen. abs. with ὥς (G. 278, 12, end), *since, therefore, I shall (as I say, ὥς) go, etc., be of this mind*. — ὅπῃ ἀν καὶ ὑμεῖς: sc. ἦτε (*Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, N. 22).

7. ταῦτα: with reference to what precedes (G. 148, N. 1). — οἷ τε, the art. receiving the accent from the following enclitic. — ὅτι . . . πορεύεσθαι: explanatory of ταῦτα (G. 243). The direct discourse of οὐ φαίη πορεύεσθαι would be οὐ φημι πορεύεσθαι, *I deny that I am going* (see note on i. 2. 26). — πλείους for πλείονες (G. 72, 2, N. 1). — ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο: der. from στρατοπεδον (G. 131, 1). — Note that παρά occurs in this section with each of the three cases (G. 191, N. 1).

8. τούτοις: dat. of cause (G. 188, 1). — στρατιωτῶν: gen. with adverb (G. 182, 2, end). — αὐτῷ: indir. obj. (G. 184, 1). — ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν, *bade him not to be discouraged* (G. 260, 1): λέγω in this use is equivalent to κελεύω; so εἶπον when used with the inf. (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ὥς . . . δέον, *since this matter would be settled (G. 278, 12) in the right way* (G. 139); ὥς (G. 277, N. 2) shows that the participial sentence gives the ground on which Clearchus bade Cyrus to be encouraged. — μεταπέμπεσθαι, *to continue to send for (him)*. — αὐτὸς . . . ἰέναι, *but for himself* (modifies subj. of ἰέναι, G. 138, N. 8) *he said he should not go*. αὐτός marks the opposition of the two persons, the thought being: “*You continue to send for me, but still I’ll not go.*”

9. μετὰ δέ ταῦτα, *after this* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — θ’, i. e. τε (G. 17, 1). τῶν . . . βουλόμενον, *any one of the rest* (G. 168) *that wished* (G. 276, 2). — τὰ Κύρου: πράγματα omitted (G. 141, N. 4). — δῆλον: sc. ἐστί. — οὕτως . . . ἐκείνῳ, i. e. *his relations to us are in just (περὶ ὥσπερ) the same position as ours to him*. — ἐπεὶ γε, *since at any rate*. — ἡμῖν: with the following noun (G. 185). — μισθο-δότης: compound noun expressing the agent (G. 131, 1; 129, 2 b).

10. μέντοι: used in sinister sense: “*Though our relations are at an end, he may, however, not be done with us.*” — καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ, *though*

he continues to send, etc. (G. 277, N. 1b). — τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, chiefly (G. 160, 2): the correl. follows in ἔπειτα καί. — αἰσχυρόμενος, from shame. — ἐψευσμένος: quoted after σύνοιδα (G. 280, N. 2). — μὴ . . . ἐπιθῆ: obj. clause (G. 218). — δίκην ὧν . . . ἡδικῆσθαι, punishment for those things (sc. τούτων limiting δίκην, G. 153, N. 1) in which (ὧν for ἃ, cognate acc., G. 159, N. 2) he thinks he has been wronged (G. 260, 2) by me, — i. e. punishment for the wrongs he thinks he has suffered from me.

11. ἐμοί . . . καθεύδειν, the time, therefore, does not seem to me to be (one) for sleeping (G. 261, 1). δοκέω in the sense simply of to seem takes the inf. in indir. disc. (G. 246). In the sense of to seem good or best, as in the phrase δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, below, the accompanying inf. is not in indir. disc. In either case it is the subj. (not obj.) of δοκέω. Cf. the uses of videor in Lat. — ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ourselves (G. 80; 171, 2). — ὅ τι χρή: an indir. question (G. 149, 2<sup>2</sup>). — ἐκ τούτων, next (G. 191, I. 3 b), expressing time (sequence) with an implied idea of consequence, in consideration of, in consequence of, the present circumstances. — ἕως μένομεν αὐτοῦ, as long as, while, we are staying here (αὐτοῦ, adv.). ἕως with the pres. ind. never can mean until. — σκεπτόν εἶναι: in the dir. form (G. 246) σκεπτόν ἐστί (G. 281, 2). — ἀσφαλίστατα: superlative adv. (G. 75). — ὅπως μένωμεν: an obj. clause after a verb of caring for with the subj. (G. 217, N. 1). But in the alternative sentence we have the reg. constr. (G. 217), ὅπως ἀπιμεν (G. 200, N. 3 b), ὅπως ἔχομεν. Many editions have μενοῦμεν for μένωμεν by conjecture.

Page 11. — ἄνευ, without (G. 191, I. 5). — οὔτε . . . οὐδέν, neither general (G. 167, 1) nor private is of any use.

12. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ . . . φίλος ἦ, but the man (i. e. Cyrus) is a valuable (lit. worth much, G. 178, N.) friend, to whomsoever he is a friend (G. 233). — ἐχθρός, πολέμιος, i. e. whomsoever he is at war with (ἐν πολέμῳ), he comes to hate as a personal enemy, so earnest is he. — ναυτικὴν: from ναύτης, a sailor, and that from ναῦς. Note the suff. in each case, ικός, τῆς. — ὁμοίως: with πάντες, which we all alike. — δοκοῦμέν μοι καθῆσθαι: cf. δοκεῖ in § 11, and the note. — αὐτοῦ: construe with πόρρω, at a distance from him (G. 182, 2). — ὥρα (sc. ἐστί): cf. § 11, above.

13. ἐκ τούτου, after this, upon this. — ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου: cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, i. 2. 17. — λέγοντες, to say (G. 277, 3); in the next line ἐπιδεικνύντες, showing (G. 277, 3 and 6; Moods and Tenses, § 109, 5, last ex.). — ἐκείνου, i. e. Clearchus. — εἴη: indir. question (G. 243). — ἀπορία: give its derivation. — μένειν, ἀπιέναι: with ἀπορία (G. 261, 1).

14. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, but one in particular proposed. Both this man and the one who answered him in § 16 doubtless spoke at the instigation of Clearchus. — ἐλέσθαι: with εἶπε, with which in the sense of propose or command the inf. is not in indirect disc. (Moods and Tenses, § 15, 2, N. 3). Cf. § 8. The six following infinitives, beginning with ἀγοράζεσθαι, have the same construction with ἐλέσθαι. The conditional sentences dependent on these inf., εἰ μὴ βούλεται and εἰὰν διδῶ (bis), — being dependent clauses in indirect discourse, — might have been each in the opt. (G. 248, 1), although εἰ βούλοιτο would have been ambiguous. So ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι might have

been opt., like *ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν*, above (G. 248, N.). — *ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ . . . στρατεύματι*: thrown in parenthetically by the historian to show the absurdity of the proposition. — *αἰτεῖν*: with two accs. (G. 164). — *πλοῖα*: *transport-vessels, boats*. — *ἐὰν μὴ διδῶ*: the verb of the apod. is *αἰτεῖν*, which after *εἶπε*, *proposed*, is fut. in force. See G. 223. — *φιλίας* (sc. *οὔσης*): pred. adj. (G. 138. Rem.). — *ὅστις ἀπάξει*: purpose (G. 236). — *μηδέ*, *not even* (G. 283, 2). — *συντάττεσθαι, ἀγοράζεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθαι*: the three uses of the mid. voice (G. 199, 1, 2, 3). — *τὴν ταχίστην*: adv. acc. (G. 160, 2). — *προκαταληψομένους*: sc. *ἄνδρας*. The part. expresses purpose (G. 277, 3). — *τὰ ἄκρα*, i. e. of Mt. Taurus, the pass by which they had entered Cilicia. — *ὅπως φθάσωσι*: purpose (G. 216). Note the three ways in which purpose has been expressed in this section. — *ὅπως . . . καταλαβόντες*, *might not seize them first* (G. 279, 4). — *ὦν* (the antec. is *οἱ Κίλικες*) is a part. gen. with *πολλούς*, but a poss. gen. with *χρήματα* (G. 167, 1 and 6). — *πολλούς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα*, *many men (as captives) and much property*. — *ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες* = *ἀνηρπάκαμεν καὶ ἔχομεν*: notice the sudden change to direct discourse. — *τοσοῦτον*, *so much only* (as follows). This refusal to take the lead would embarrass them still more.

15. *ὡς μὲν . . . λεγέτω*, *let no one speak of me as likely to be general on this occasion*; the part. with *ὡς* after *λεγέτω* on the analogy of the constr. explained in G. 280. See also *Moods and Tenses*, § 113, κ. 10, (c). — *στρατηγίαν*: cogn. acc. (G. 159). — *μηδεῖς*: prohibition (G. 254). — *ἐν-ορῶ*, *see in* the undertaking. — *ποιητέον*: sc. *ἐστί* (G. 281). Since *τοῦτο* is in the neut. sing. the construction may be regarded either pers. or impers. at pleasure. — *ὡς πείσομαι*: sc. *οὕτω λέγετε* from the preceding *μηδεῖς λεγέτω*. — *δν ἂν ἔλθῃς* (G. 232, 3), *quemcunque elegeritis*. We might have had *ᾧ ἂν* (G. 153), for which there is slight MS. authority. — *ἡ δυνατόν μάλιστα*, *to the best of my ability*; *μάλιστα* belonging to *πείσομαι*, and *ἡ*, as (G. 87, 2), to *ἐστί* understood with *δυνατόν*. Cf. *ὡς μάλιστα, ὡς τάχιστα*, and note on *ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον*, i. 1. 6. — *ἵνα εἰδῇτε*: purpose (G. 216). — *ὅτι καὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων*, *that I know how also to submit to authority as well as any other man that lives*; *μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων*, *in the highest degree (best of all men*, G. 168), belongs to *ἐπίσταμαι*, and is really superfluous to the sense after *ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος*, (*as well*) *as any other man whatsoever* (*καὶ* being emphatic). For the latter, *εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος* is more common (see i. 4. 15).

16. *εὐήθειαν*: from *εὐήθης*, *simple-minded*, from *εὖ* and *ἥθος*. Note the suffix (G. 129, 7). — *ὥσπερ . . . ποιουμένου*, *just as (we might ask for them*, G. 277, N. 3), *if Cyrus should make his expedition back again*, i. e. should give up his plans and return home, so as not to need the boats longer. *Κύρου ποιουμένου* = *εἰ Κύρος ποιοῖτο*. — *ὡς εὐήθης εἶη*, *that it was silly* (G. 243), corresponding to *τὴν εὐήθειαν* in the clause with *μὲν*. In the dependent clause *ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα* there is a change to direct discourse (otherwise we should have *λυμαίνονται* or *λυμαίνοντο*, G. 247), which continues to the close of the speech in § 19. — *παρὰ τούτου*: in the place of the simple *τοῦτον*. (Cf. the const. with *αἰτεῖν* in § 14). — *ᾧ*: dat. of dis-



advantage (G. 184, 3). — **πρᾶξις**, i. e. **πραγ-σις** (G. 129, 3), i. e. *plan of operations*.

Page **12**. — **εἰ πιστεύσομεν** (G. 221, N.), *if we propose to trust*; not equivalent to **ἐὰν πιστεύσωμεν**, *if we shall trust*. — **τί κωλύει . . . προκαταλαμβάνειν** (ironical): the order is **τί κωλύει** (sc. **ἡμᾶς**) **καὶ κελεύειν** **Κ. προκ. τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν**; The meaning is, that if they propose to trust Cyrus's guide, they might as well show still greater confidence in Cyrus himself, and tell him to secure the heights for them!

17. **ἐγώ**: emphatic. — **γάρ**: the sect. states the grounds for the distrust of Cyrus which the speaker would entertain under the conditions supposed. — **ἂ δόιη**: cond. rel. clause (G. 232, 4); so also **ᾤ** (G. 153) **δοίη**, following. — **μὴ καταδύσῃ**: obj. clause after a verb of *fearing* (G. 218); so **μὴ ἀγάγῃ**, following. — **αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι**, *triremes and all* (G. 188, 5). The trireme (**τρεῖς**, ἄρω; Lat. *tri-rēmis*) was a war-vessel with three banks of oars. It is hardly possible that the **πλοῖα**, *transports* for troops, here mentioned, can be soberly called *triremes*; it is probable that **αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι** is added to **καταδύσῃ** to heighten the absurdity, — “*flect and all*,” as we sometimes say “horse, foot, and dragoons” or “bag and baggage.” There is, however, some MS. authority for omitting **αὐταῖς**, in which case **ταῖς τριήρεσι** will mean *by his own triremes*. — **φοβοίμην**: a stronger word than **ὀκνέω**, used to indicate a climax of feeling. — **ᾔθεν**, i. e. **ἐκείσε ᾔθεν**, *to the place from which*. — **οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται**, *it will not be possible* (G. 151, N. 4<sup>2</sup>). The antecedent of **ᾔθεν** is obviously definite (note the neg., G. 230). If he had wished to speak less vividly he would have said, **ᾔθεν οὐκ ἂν οἷόν τε εἴη**. — **ἀπίων** = **εἰ ἀπίοιμι** (G. 277, 4). — **ἄκοντος Κύρου**, sc. **ὄντος**: the adjs. **έκων** and **ἄκων** are often used in this way without **ᾧν**, as if themselves participles. — **λαθεῖν . . . ἀπελθών**, *to get off without his knowing it* (G. 279, 4).

18. **ἄνδρας**: subj. of **ἑρωτᾶν**. The whole sentence from **ἄνδρας** to the end of § 19 (except the parenth. **οὕτω . . . ἀπίοιμεν**) is the subj. of **δοκεῖ**. — **οὔτινες**, *such as are* (sc. **εἰσὶ**). — **τί . . . χρῆσθαι**, *what* (G. 149, 2<sup>2</sup>) *use he wishes to make of us* (G. 188, 1, N. 2, entire). The same use of the cases in **οἷαπερ** (for **οἷανπερ** by assimilation, G. 153) . . . **τοῖς ξένοις**. — **πρόσθεν**: for the time referred to, cf. i. 1. 2.

19. **τῆς πρόσθεν**, *than the former one*, sc. **πράξεως** (G. 175, 1). — **ἐὰν φαίνεται, ἀξιοῦν**: note the not infrequent use of the inf. in a future sense as the apod. of this class of cond. sentence (G. 223). A case just precedes in § 18 in **ἐὰν ᾗ, ἔπεσθαι**, and another follows in **ὅ τι δ' ἂν λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι** (G. 232, 3). — **ἀξιοῦν**, *demand*, i. e. the deputies (**ἄνδρας**) mentioned in § 18. **ἀναγγεῖλαι** has the same subj.; but **βουλεύεσθαι** has **ἡμᾶς** expressed. — **πέσαντα**: e. g. by means of greater pay. Cf. § 21. — **πρὸς φίλαν**, *in friendship*. — **ἐπόμενοι, ἀπionτες**: these might be respectively **εἰ ἐποίμεθα, εἰ ἀπίοιμεν** (G. 277, 4). — **φίλοι, πρόθυμοι**: pred. adjs. Give the der. of **πρό-θυμος**. — **πρὸς ταῦτα**, *with respect to this*. (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 c).

20. **ἔδοξε ταῦτα**, *this was approved*. The ordinary beginning of an Athenian decree was **ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ**, i. e. *be it enacted by the*



*Senate and the People.* — ἡρώτων τὰ δόξαντα, *made the inquiries agreed upon* (i. e. ἃ ἔδοξεν). For the dat. with δοκέω in this sense (*to seem good or best*), see G. 184, 2. — ὅτι ἀκούει: he said ἀκούω, *I have heard*, etc. The Greek, like other languages, often uses the pres. of such verbs as *I hear, I learn, I say*, even when their action is strictly finished (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 5). — ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα: note the difference between ἐχθρός and πολέμιος (see note on § 12, above). — εἶναι, *was*, as a matter of hearsay, while ὄντα would have implied more responsibility for the fact on the part of the speaker (G. 280, with N. 3). — ἀπέχοντα . . . σταθμούς, *twelve stages off or distant* (ἀπέχοντα with Ἀβροκόμαι, G. 276, 1). — πρὸς τοῦτον, *to him*, with an implied sense of *against*, which would be expressed properly by ἐπὶ. — χρῆζειν ἐπιθεῖναι: give the dir. form. — ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ, κ. τ. λ.: the quot. here becomes direct. It should be noted with what remarkable ease the Greek, contrary to the Eng. idiom, allows this transition from the indirect to the direct form. Cf. § 16.

21. αἶρετοί: verbal from αἰρέω (G. 117, 3). — τοῖς δὲ . . . ἦν, *but they had*, etc. (G. 143, 1, N. 2; 184, 4). — ὑποψία: the suff. expresses action (cf. G. 129, 3). — ὅτι ἄγει: quoted without change of mood after τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία ἦν = ὑπώπτευον δέ. But below, after ἤκουσεν, with change of mood, ὅτι ἄγοι (G. 243). — πρὸς βασιλεία: as πρὸς τοῦτον in § 20. — ἔδοκει: why ἔδοκει here, but ἔδοξε (aor.) in § 20? — προσαιτούσι μισθόν, *ask additional (πρός) pay*. — ἡμι-όλιον: der.? — δώσειν: note the tense (G. 203, N. 2). — οὐ, i. e. τούτου οὐ, *than that which*, οὐ for ὅ by attraction: cf. ἔ in § 17 and οὔαπερ in § 18. The gen. goes with ἡμιόλιον, which has the force of a comparative, *a half more* (G. 175, 1, N. 1). — δαριεκοῦ: see note on i. 7. 18. — τοῦ μηνός, *each month* (G. 179, 1). — ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ = φανερώς (G. 139, 2). This implies that there was a secret understanding of the real facts on the part of some. The soldiers accuse the generals of this in i. 4. 12. — By the expedient here described Cyrus led the Greeks nineteen stages farther inland (in place of the twelve proposed in § 20) before announcing publicly his real purpose.

#### CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds to the river Psarus, thence to the river Pyramus, and finally reaches Issi upon the sea-coast, the last city in Cilicia (1). Here he remains three days, during which time his fleet arrives. He is also joined by the Greek mercenaries who desert from Abrocomas (2, 3). Hence he proceeds to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. Abrocomas does not attempt to bar his passage, but retreats towards Babylon (4, 5). Cyrus advances through Syria, and is deserted at Myriandrus by Xenias and Pasion. It is rumored that he will pursue them (6, 7); but calling his Greek generals together, he announces that he shall not do so. This decision pleases the Greeks, and they accompany him with greater alacrity (8, 9). He crosses the Psarus and reaches the sources of the Dardas, where he burns the palace of the Syrian governor (9, 10). At Thapsacus on the Euphrates he announces the real object of his expedition (11).

The troops refuse to go on without extra pay (12), which Cyrus agrees to give them. Menon, in the mean time, urges his troops to cross the Euphrates before the others decide, and so win the favor of Cyrus by seeming most forward in his service (13-15). They comply, and Cyrus expresses his satisfaction (16). He then crosses the Euphrates with the rest of his troops, and proceeds to the Araxes, where he remains three days (17-19).

Page **13**. — 1. It is now the last of spring, and the army has been on the march four months. The distance from Sardis thus far travelled is 222 parasangs. Review on the map the route travelled up to Tarsi. — **στάδιον**: the common Greek standard of length, equal to 606½ Eng. feet, somewhat less than a furlong. This was the length of the **στάδιον**, or course for foot-races, at Olympia, which measured exactly 600 Greek feet. The noun is *heterogeneous* (G. 60, 2): cf. **στάδιοι** in § 4. — **ἑσχάτην**: without the art., where we should use it. Cf. i. 2. 10. — **ἐπὶ . . . οἰκουμένην**, *situated* (lit. *being inhabited*) *close upon the sea*.

2. **Κύρω**: for the case cf. **αὐτῷ** in i. 2. 4, and note. The fleet is the one already mentioned in i. 2. 21. — **ἐπ' αὐταῖς**, *over them*, but below in § 3 **ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν** (**ἐπὶ** with the gen.), *on board the ships*. — **ναύ-αρχος**, *admiral* (for **ναυ-** see G. 131, 1, N.). — **ἡγείτο δ' αὐταῖς**, *conducted them* (G. 171, 3, N.). — **ἐτέρας**, *besides*. So often **ἄλλος**. — **ἐπολιόρκει**, *had been besieging*; so **συνεπολέμει**: the subj. of both of these verbs is a pronoun referring to Tamos. Cf. for the tense **ἐτύγχανεν**, i. 1. 8. — **ὅτε ἦν**, *since it had been* (G. 250). — **αὐτόν**, i. e. Tissaphernes.

3. **μετάπεμptos**, *sent for* (G. 117, 3), equal to **μεταπεμφθείς**, and so followed by **ὑπὸ Κύρου** (G. 197, 1). Chirisophus was sent with these troops from Sparta in return for the aid rendered the Lacedaemonians by Cyrus during the Peloponnesian War. He became in the retreat senior commander. — **ὦν . . . Κύρου**, *the command of whom he (now) held under Cyrus*. — **ἄρμουν**, *lay at anchor*, from **ἄρμος**, *a roadstead*. The quarters of Cyrus, it would appear, were pitched close upon the sea. — **οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα**: cf. **τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως** in i. 1. 5, and note. For the gen. **Ἀβροκόμα**, see G. 39, 3. This Doric gen. in Attic is found chiefly in foreign proper names. — **μισθο-φόροι**: give its der. (G. 131, 1).

4. **πύλας**: the article omitted, the noun being used almost as a proper name. The pass itself is here meant. — **ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα**, *and these (gates) consisted of*: **ταῦτα** for **αὐται** because of **τείχη**, and **ἦσαν** for **ἦν** (G. 135, 2) because the *two* walls were in the writer's mind. — **τὸ . . . τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας**: position of the attrib. phrase (G. 142, 2). After **ἔσθθεν**, sc. **τείχος**. — **εἶχε**: not, of course, in person. — **διὰ μέσου τούτων**: cf. **διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως**, i. 2. 23, and note. — **ἅπαν τὸ μέσον**, *the entire distance between*. — **τειχῶν**: poss. gen. (G. 167, 1). — **ἦσαν** agrees with **στάδιοι** (G. 135, N. 4). — **καθήκοντα**: to be connected with **ἦν**, **ἦν καθήκοντα** being equivalent to **καθήκε**. — **ὑπερθεν**, i. e. *overhanging* the pass. — **ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι**, *gates had been set* in each wall. Here **πύλαι** has its proper meaning of *gates*, large and double like those in a city wall.

5. *ἕνεκα*, *on account of* (G. 191, I. 5). Commonly placed after the word it governs, or one of the modifiers of that word (as here). — *ἀποβιβάσειεν, παρέλθοιεν*: change of subj. Diff. between *βιβάζω* and *βαίνω*? — *εἴσω καὶ ἔξω*, i. e. on both sides of the *Syrian* wall, that he might attack A. both in front and rear. The distance between the two walls was over a third of a mile (three stades). — *εἰ φυλάττοιεν*: if the preceding optatives were subjunctives (G. 216, 2) this clause might be *ἐὰν φυλάττωσιν*.

Page 14. — *ὅπερ*, *just the thing which*, referring to the clause just preceding. — *ἔχοντα*, *since he had* (G. 277, 2). — *ὄντα*: quoted (G. 280). Cf. *ἀκούει εἶναι* in i. 3. 20, and note. — *ὥς ἐλέγετο*: probably personal, *as he was said*. Cf. i. 2. 8, note. — *μυριάδας*: Eng. der.?

6. *ἐμπόριον*, *mart*, Lat. and Eng. *emporium*, from *ἐμπορος* (*περάω, πέρα*, cf. *πορεύω*), *a traveller, merchant*, distinguished from the *κάπηλος* (cf. *τὰ καπηλεία*, i. 2. 24) by his importing goods in person. — *ἦν*: we might have had *ἔστι*. Cf. *ἀθροίζονται* in i. 1. 2, and note. — *τὸ χωρίον*: the subject; the predicate noun (here *ἐμπόριον*) generally omits the article. — *αὐτόθι*: formed with the suff. *θι* (G. 61). — *ὀλκάς* is (properly) *a ship that is towed* (*ἔλκω*), *merchantman*.

7. *Μεγαρεύς*: a gentile noun (see G. 129, 10). — *τὰ . . . ἐνθήμενοι, πῶτιν* on board (G. 199, 3) *their most valuable effects*. — *ὥς μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*: the correl. clause with *δέ* is omitted; but *μὲν* implies that there was another opinion in the camp. — *ἐδόκουν*: personal; cf. note on *δοκεῖ*, i. 3. 11. — *φιλοτιμηθέντες*, *since they were jealous* (G. 277, 2): *ὅτι . . . εἶα Κύρος* is also causal (G. 250). — *ἀπελθόντας*: see i. 3. 7. — *ὥς ἀπιόντας*: purpose (G. 277, 3; 200, N. 3 b). Cf. *ὥς ἀποκτενῶν*, i. 1. 3. — *καὶ οὐ*: sc. *ἰόντας* from the preceding *ἀπιόντας*. — *διήλθε λόγος*, *a report went abroad*. — *ὅτι διώκοι*: quoted (G. 243). — *τρίηρεσι*: the means (G. 188, 1). — *ὥς δειλοὺς . . . ληφθῆναι*, *that they might be captured, because* (in the opinion of *οἱ μὲν*, G. 277, N. 2) *they were cowards*. — *εἰ ἀλώσονται*: fut. of *ἀλίσκομαι*. For the mood, G. 226, 4, N. 1; 248, 2. For *εἰ ἀλώσονται* of the direct form, see G. 223, N. 1. Cyrus had already shown how severe he could be. Cf. i. 2. 20. A striking general instance of this is given in i. 9. 13.

8. *ἀλλ' . . . ἐπιστάσθωσαν*, *but, however, let them well* (emphasized by *γέ*) *know*. — *ἀποδεδράκασιν, ἀποπεφύγασιν*: the first means *to escape by stealth*, like a runaway slave; the second, *to escape by rapid flight*, so as not to be caught. The clauses that follow make this distinction clear. — *ὅπη οἴχονται*, *in what direction* (G. 87, 2) *they are gone* (G. 200, N. 3). — *τρίηρεις, πλοῖον*: cf. note on i. 3. 17. — *ὥστε ἐλεῖν*: result (G. 266, 1). — *μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς*: note that the oath is neg. (G. 163). — *οὐδ' . . . οὐδέις*: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). — *ἕως ἂν παρῇ τις*, *as long as any one stays by me*, general suppos. in pres. time (G. 233). So *ἐπειδὴν βούληται*. — *αὐτοὺς*: pl. though referring to *τις*. Cf. *πάντας*, i. 1. 5, and note. — *κακῶς ποιῶ, maltreat* (G. 165, N. 11). — *περί*, *in respect to, to*. — *φρουρούμενα, guarded*, i. e. under the protection of the resident garrison. Though the modifier of both *τέκνα* and *γυναῖκας, φρουρούμενα* is neut., since these are looked upon as articles of property. For Tralles, see the map, Lydia. — *τούτων στερήσονται*:



the passive (G. 197, 1) of the const. explained in G. 164, N. 2. — By this unlooked-for clemency Cyrus got the good-will of the Greeks (cf. what immediately follows) and lost little; for though the generals deserted, their troops remained, numbering some 5000 or 6000.

9. εἴ τις . . . ἀνάβασιν, *if (there was) any one (who) was even somewhat discouraged in regard to the expedition.* — τὴν ἀρετὴν, *the magnanimity.*

Page 15. — μετὰ ταῦτα: mark the asyndeton. — ὄντα, *which was* (G. 276, 1). — πλέθρου: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3) after ὄντα modifying ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος being an acc. of spec. (G. 160, 1); but below in § 10 τὸ εὖρος is the subj. of ἦν understood, πλέθρου having the same const. that it has here. For still another const., see i. 2. 5. — πραέων, *tame* (G. 70, N. 2). — ἐνόμιζον, *εἶων*: cf. ἦν in § 6, and the note. For the two accs. after ἐνόμιζον, see G. 166. — ἀδικεῖν: sc. *τινά* as subj. — Παρυσάτιδος . . . δεδομέναι, *belonged to Parysatis* (G. 169, 1), *having been given her for girdle-money* (cf. our “pin-money”).

10. Δάρδατος: the *Dardas*. See the map. Cyrus now gets into the valley of the Euphrates, but does not cross this river until eight days later at Thapsäcus. — ἦσαν: cf. for the number, i. 2. 23, and note. — ἀρξάντος: note the tense. Belšys had probably fled on the approach of Cyrus, who in consequence treated the country as that of an enemy. — αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε, *cut it off*; ἐκ-κόπω means lit. *to cut trees out of a wood*. — κατέκαυσεν: *κατα-καῶ*, *to burn down* (or, as we sometimes say, *to burn up*); but *ἀνα-καῶ*, *to kindle* (*kindle up*), with reference to the direction of the flames.

11. Cyrus now openly declares the real object of the expedition, which must have already been apparent to the Greeks for some time. Cf. i. 3. 20, and i. 4. 5. They had continued on, however, intending at the Euphrates to demand higher pay (§ 12), which Cyrus now agrees (§ 13) to give them. — ὅτι ἔσοιτο: note the tense and give the dir. form (G. 243). — εἰς βαβυλῶνα: not *at Babylon*, but connect with ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο directly.

12. ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν: cf. *συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν* in i. 3. 2. — ἐχαλέπαινον: a denom. verb in αἰνώ (G. 130, 7) from χαλεπός. This anger of the soldiers was, doubtless, more or less feigned, to force from Cyrus the greater pay. — στρατηγοῖς: case (G. 184, 2). — αὐτοὺς . . . κρύπτειν: what they said (speaking of them) was *πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτουσι* (G. 200, N. 4), *though they have known* (G. 277, 5) *this for a long time, they have been keeping it secret* (G. 246); or, if they addressed them directly, which is more spirited, *πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτετε*. Eng. der. from κρύπτω? — οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι: cf. the same phrase i. 3. 1, and note. — τίς: Cyrus, of course. — χρήματα: it was not an increase of their regular pay (*μισθός*) that they demanded, but a *bovinty*. — ὥσπερ: sc. *ἔδωκε, as he had given it.* — προτέροις: pred. to ἀναβάσι (G. 138, 7); the verbal form would be οἱ ἀνέβησαν πρότεροι. Cf. *πρότερα*, i. 2. 25. The reference is to the 300 Greeks who accompanied Cyrus to Babylon at the time of his father's death. — καὶ ταῦτα, *and that too*, sc. *ἐποίησε*. — ἰόντων: sc. *ἐκείνων*, referring to the οἱ ἀναβάντες. The part. ἰόντων is concessive (G. 277, 5), but *καλοῦντος* causal (G. 277, 2); the latter is opposed to ἐπὶ μάχην, not to ἰόντων.



13. *ὑπέσχετο δώσειν*: he might have used *δοῦναι* or *διδόναι* (G. 203, N. 2). — *πέντε μνᾶς*: about \$90.00. The *μνᾶ* of 100 drachmas was  $\frac{1}{60}$  of a talent; the latter was a weight of silver which at the present day would be worth about \$1080. — *ἀργυρίου*: genitive of material (G. 167, 4). — *ἔπην ἤκωσι*: cond. rel. clause (G. 232, 3). So *μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ* (G. 239, 2). — *τὸν μισθόν*: a daric and a half a month (i. 3. 21). — *ἐντελῇ*: predicate adj. The der. of *ἐν-τελής*? — *τὸ πολὺ*, *the greater part* (G. 142, 2, N. 3 b). — *πρὶν εἶναι*, *before it was* (G. 274). This const. occurs again in § 14 (in exactly the words used here) and in § 16. — *πότερον . . . ἤ*: double indir. quest. (G. 282, 5). — *οὐ*: accented at the end of the sentence (G. 29, N. 1). The meaning of the word *proclitic*? — *τῶν ἄλλων*: case (G. 182, 2). — Give the dir. form of all the quoted sentences in this and the preceding section.

Page 16. — 14. *πεισθῆτε*: the aor. mid. of this verb is not used, but the aor. pass. has the sense of the mid., *obey*. — *οὔτε . . . πονήσαντες*, *without either toil or danger* (G. 277, 2). — *τῶν ἄλλων*: with *στρατιωτῶν*, *the rest of the soldiers* (G. 142, 2, N. 3). The gen. is in a sort of double const., first with *πλέον* (G. 175, 1), and then with *προ-τιμήσεσθε* (G. 177). The object is to emphasize the great advantage over the rest to be gained by following his advice. *προτιμήσεσθε* is a mid. with pass. force. — *τοὺς Ἐλληνας*: subj. of *ἔπεσθαι*, which in turn is the obj. of *δεῖται*.

15. *ψηφίσωνται*, *to vote*, properly by depositing the white or black pebble (*ψῆφος*) in the urn, but in fact of much broader application: *ψῆφος*, *a worn stone, pebble*, from *ψάω*, *to rub*. — *ὑμεῖς . . . διαβαίνειν*, *you (emphatic) will have credit of being the cause of it, since you were the first to cross* (G. 262, 2; 171, 1). — *ὑμῖν . . . ἀποδώσει: χάριν οἶδα* (fut. *εἰσομαι*) is the Lat. *gratiam habeo*, *χάριν ἀποδίδωμι* is *gratiam refero*. Transl. *Cyrus will feel his obligation to you and meet it*. — *ἐπίσταται*: sc. *χάριν ἀποδιδόναι*. — *εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος*: cf. the clause at the end of i. 3. 15. — *ἀπο-ψηφίσωνται*, *vote "No."* — *τοῦμπαλιν*, i. e. *τὸ ἔμπαλιν* (G. 11). — *ὥς . . . πειθομένοις* (G. 277, N. 2) *because (as he will feel) you alone carried out his wishes*. — *πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται*, *will treat you as most trustworthy*: see note on *τῶν πιστῶν*, i. 5. 15. — *λοχαγίας*: from *λοχ-αγός*, as *στρατηγία* from *στρατ-ηγός*. — *ἄλλου . . . δέησθε* (G. 232, 3), *whatever else you may want*: *ἄλλου* (for *ἄλλο*) agrees with *οὔτινος* by inverted assimilation (G. 153, N. 4); it may, however, be explained as a genitive after *τεύξεσθε* (G. 171, 1), although *τυγχάνω* generally takes the accus. when a gen. of the source is added (G. 176, 1), as *Κύρου* here.

16. *ἐπείθοντο, διέβησαν*: note the diff. in tense. — *διαβεβηκότες*, *that they had crossed* (G. 280). — *ἦσθη*: see i. 2. 18. — *Γλοῦς*, *Glus*, son of the admiral Tamos, ii. 1. 3. — *Ἐγὼ μὲν . . . μελήσει*: note the frequent expression of the pers. pron. in this section to emphasize the contrast. — *ὅπως ἐπαινέσετε*: this obj. clause (G. 217) is in fact here a gen. (G. 171, 2, N. 2).

17. *εὐτυχῆσαι*: from *εὐ-τυχής*, *fortunate* (G. 130, 2). — *ἐλέγετο πρίμψαι*, *he was said to have sent*, personal construction. — *μεγαλοπρεπῶς*, *with great liberality*, from *μεγαλο-πρεπής* (G. 74, 1; 131, 1). — *τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἅπαν*: the order of crossing was: Menon's force, Cyrus and the barbarians,

and then the rest of the Greek army. — **ἀνωτέρω**: the comp. of the adverb **ἄνω** (G. 75, N. 1). — **τῶν μαστῶν**: **μαστός** is *one of the breasts*, **στέρνον** (i. 8. 26) *the breast, chest*.

18. **οἱ δὲ . . . πλοίοις**: what the inhabitants of Thapsacus said, supplying the ellipses necessary to the const., was **οὐπώποθ' (οὐ-πώ-ποτε) οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς (διαβαίνω, G. 117, 3) ἐγένετο περὶ εἰ μὴ νῦν (except now, emphasizing οὐπώποτε), ἀλλὰ (διαβατὸς ἐγένετο) πλοίοις** (G. 188, 1). Note the change of **νῦν** to **τότε** in passing from dir. to indir. disc. In the same way the person of the quoted verbs is often changed. — **ἃ τότε . . . διαβῆ**: a statement added by the historian. — **κατέκαυσεν**: plup. in force. — **ἵνα . . . διαβῆ**: note the mood (G. 216, 2). — **ἐδόκει δὴ . . . βασιλεύσοντι, it appeared accordingly that it** (i. e. the lowness of the river) *was a divine intervention* (G. 139, 1), *and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus, because (he was) about to be king*. The sentiment rather of the truculent Thapsacēni than of the historian.

19. **ἐπεσιτίσαντο**: because they were about to cross the desert of Arabia. See the map.

## CHAPTER V.

**SYNOPSIS**: The march is continued through the desert of Arabia along the northern bank of the Euphrates (1). The horsemen hunt the wild animals in which the plain abounds (2, 3). The deserted city Corsôte on the river Mascas is reached (4). Thence Cyrus marches thirteen days through the desert, and many of the beasts of burden perish from hunger (5). Grain failing, the soldiers live upon flesh (6). Once during this time the wagons are stuck in the mud, and the Persian nobles assist the barbarians in getting them out (7, 8). Cyrus marches with the greatest speed possible, hoping to find the King unprepared (9). The soldiers cross the Euphrates, on rafts made of skins, to Charmande, where they purchase food and wine (10). Here a dispute arises between the troops of Clearchus and Menon, and Clearchus narrowly escapes being killed (11–14). Cyrus comes up and succeeds in quelling the disturbance (15–17).

Page 17. — 1. **τῆς Ἀραβίας**: occupied by roving tribes of Arabs, called by Strabo Ἀραβες Σκηνῖται (from σκηνή). See map. — **ἔχων**, *with* (G. 277, 6). — **ἐρήμους**, *desert*. Eng. der.? — **τόπῳ**, *region*. — **ἦν μὲν . . . θάλαττα**, *the ground was wholly a level plain, just like the sea*: **ἅπαν** to be construed with **πέδιον**, where we should expect rather **ἅπαντα** modifying **γῆ**. Cf. iv. 4. 1. — **ἀψινθίου**: cf. Tristia per vacuos horrent absinthia campos. Ovid. Pont., iii. 1. 23. — **ἅπαντα**: plur., though the preceding **τι** is sing., *if there was anything else, etc., they were all, etc.* Cf. **δοῖς . . . πάντας**, i. 1. 5. — **δένδρον . . . ἐνὴν**, *but there was no tree (emphatic) in it*.

2. **πλείστοι**, *very many*. — **ὄνοι ἄγριοι**: Crosby cites Job xxxix. 5–8. — **στρουθοί**: the **στρουθός** was properly a small bird of the sparrow kind, but **ὁ μέγας στρουθός**, *the ostrich*. (Note the der. of the Eng. word *ostrich*.) **ἡ στρουθός** also (fem.) was used without **μεγάλη** in the same sense. Cf. § 3, below. — **ἐπεὶ διώκοι, ἔστασαν** (G. 124, 1): for the opt. see G. 233.

So ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν, ἐπόουν. — ταυτόν: for τὸ αὐτό (G. 79, 2, N., end). — καὶ οὐκ . . . διαδεχόμενοι, and it was impossible to capture them, unless the horsemen, taking their places at intervals, hunted (G. 225) them in succession (διαδεχόμενοι, sc. ἀλλήλοις). — ἐλαφείοις: sc. κρέασι.

3. πολὺ γὰρ . . . χρωμένη, for it withdrew to a great distance in its flight, using its feet in running (manner, G. 188, 1), and its wings (by) raising them like a sail. — ἂν (i. e. ἐὰν) ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι (G. 28, N. 1, end): general supposition in present time (G. 225). — ἦν resumes the narrative style.

4. πλεθριαῖον: we might have had πλέθρου (cf. i. 2. 23). — ἐρήμη: not uninhabited as opposed to οἰκουμένη (i. 2. 6), but abandoned. — ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ (sc. ἐστὶ) has Κορσωτή as pred. nom., as if it were ὀνομάζεται δέ (Krüg.). For a different const. used to express the same thought, cf. i. 4. 11. — περιερρέιτο: the pass. of a verb made trans. (the simple ῥέω, to flow, is intrans.) by the prep. in comp., as in Eng., was flowed about. — κύκλῳ: manner (G. 188, 1). — ἐπεσιτίσαντο: Corsôte thus appears to have been a depot of supplies in the midst of the desert.

5. Πύλας, i. e. τὰς Βαβυλωνίας, the pass into Babylonia, on the north of the Euphrates. See map. — ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, from hunger (G. 191, VI. 7, 1 c). — ἄλλο, besides. — οὐδὲ οὐδέν (G. 283, 9). — ὄνους ἀλέτας, mill-stones. From the ass, as a beast of burden, the term ὄνος came to have various derived meanings, as windlass in Her. vii. 36 (ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι), and here the upper mill-stone: ἀλέτας is a noun used adj., lit. grinders. — παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν: why the acc.?

Page 18. — 6. Λυδία: Cyrus the Great, after subduing the Lydians, forbade them, at the suggestion of Croesus himself (Her. i. 155), the use of arms, and required them to teach their sons the arts of music and selling at retail. So they became a race of hucksters. — καὶ πρίασθαι . . . σίγλων: expressed in full this would be καὶ πρίασθαι (τὸν σῖτον) οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ . . . βαρβαρικῶ (πρίασθαι ἦν) τὴν καπὶθην, κ. τ. λ. — ἀλεύρων: gen. of material (G. 167, 4). — τεττάρων σίγλων: gen. of price (G. 178). — δύναται, is worth, transitive. The siglus was worth in our money about 22½ cts. — Ἀπτικοὺς: in agreement with ὀβολούς, though modifying also ἡμιωβόλιον. — ἐχώρει, held, lit. had room (χώραν) for. The choenix was about a quart, and this amount of meal or flour cost about 45 cents in the desert, or more than fifty times as much as it cost at Athens about this time. (See Boeckh's *Public Econ. of the Athen.*, Bk. I. § 15.) — κρέα . . . διεγίγνοντο, the soldiers subsisted therefore by eating (or simply on) flesh.

7. ἦν . . . οὓς, some of these marches, ἦν οὓς being a past form of the common ἔστιν οἱ (G. 152, N. 2). In such irregular phrases the verb keeps a fixed form, without regard to the unexpressed subject. — οὓς: cogn. acc. (G. 159) to ἤλαυνεν. — μακροὺς: pred. adj. (G. 138, Rem.). — ὅποτε βούλοιτο: cf. ἐπεὶ διώκοι in § 2, and note. — καὶ δὴ: adding a special fact, and once in particular. — ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, hard (G. 131, 4 b) for the wagons (G. 184, 3) to get through. — στρατοῦ: part. gen. with a verb (G. 170, 1). — συν-εκ-βιβάξεν, to aid in getting out. So two lines below συνεπισπεύσαι, to aid (σύν) in hurrying on.



8. ὥσπερ ὀργῇ, *just as if* (sc. κελεύων as protasis, G. 277, N. 3) *in anger* (manner, G. 188, 1). — θεάσασθαι: prop. *to look upon* (with interest or wonder), while ἰδεῖν is *to see* in general. — πορφυροῦς: from πορφύρα, *the purple fish, murex* (cf. G. 129, 14). — ἔντο, *sent themselves, rushed*. — ὥσπερ . . . νίκης, *just as one would run* (i. e. in a foot-race at the public games) *to get the victory*. περὶ νίκης implies the prot. (G. 226, 1), *if he should be running for* (περί, *about, concerning*, expressing the aim) *victory*. — καὶ . . . γηλόφου, *even* (modifying the entire phrase that follows) *down a very* (μάλα) *steep hill*. — ἔχοντες . . . ἀναξυρίδας, *having on both the costly tunics and colored trousers which they are in the habit of wearing*: τούτους marks the dress as one generally known. — ἔνιοι: see note on ἦν οὖς in § 7, and G. 152, N. 2. — εἰς-πήδησαν εἰς: cf. ἐκ-βαλεῖν ἐκ, i. 2. 1, and note. — θάττον ἢ . . . ᾤετο, *more quickly than* (omit ὥς, *as*, in Eng.) *one would have thought* (it possible, if he had not seen it). For ἂν ᾤετο (see οἶμαι) see G. 226, 2 b. — μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν, i. e. *lifted and carried out*.

9. τὸ σύμπαν, *upon the whole, in general* (G. 160, 2). — δῆλος . . . σπεύδων, *Cyrus himself* (ὥς) *showed that he was making haste* (G. 280, N. 1 and N. 4). — ὁδόν: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). — ἀναγκαίου: from ἀνάγκη (G. 129, 12). — ὅσῳ . . . τοσούτῳ, *quanto . . . tanto, the . . . the* (G. 188, 2). — ὅσῳ . . . μαχεῖσθαι: the thought of Cyrus was, in the dir. form, ὅσῳ ἂν θάττον ἔλθω, τοσούτῳ . . . μαχοῦμαι (G. 247). — ἀπαρασκευοτέρῳ: pred. adj. — σχολαίτερον: comparative adv. (G. 75) formed as if from σχολῇ rather than σχολαῖος. See the lexicon. — συναγείρεσθαι: in the dir. form, ὅσῳ ἂν σχολαίτερον ἔλθω, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεται βασιλεὶ στράτευμα, *the greater (will be the) army (that) is now collecting for the King*, where συναγείρεται expresses an action in progress, but implies the future size of the army which is now collecting, and would, therefore, be a natural apod. to ὅσῳ ἂν ἔλθῃ (G. 232, 3; cf. 223). — καὶ συνιδεῖν . . . οὐσα, *but, further* (καί), *the attentive observer could see at a glance* (συν-ιδεῖν) *that the King's empire was strong in its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, etc.* συνιδεῖν is first introduced as subj. of ἦν, *it was possible to see*, and the natural constr. would have been τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρὰν οὖσαν. But after τὸν νοῦν the writer's point of view changes, and the rest of the sentence is constructed (by anacoluthon) as if for συνιδεῖν ἦν the nearly equivalent δήλη ἦν had been used (G. 280, N. 1). — προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, *animum advertere or animadvertere*. — πλήθει, both *extent* and *number*, takes the two gen. by zeugma (ζεύγμα, *joining*). — διεσπάσθαι: perf. — διὰ ταχέων, *with speed*, lit. *through quick (measures)*. — εἰ . . . ἐποιεῖτο, i. e. in case of a vigorous attack.

Page 19. — 10. πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *across the river* (G. 182, 2), i. e. on its southern bank. — κατὰ, *over against, opposite*. — ἐρήμους σταθμούς: see § 1 and § 5, above. — ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη: see note on § 4, above. — διφθέρας: Eng. der.? — σκεπάσματα, *as coverings* (G. 137, N. 4). — διφθέρας, χόρτου: double obj. (G. 172, 2). — συνέσπων: see συ-σπάω (G. 16, 5, N. 3). — ὥς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι: result (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐκ, ἀπό: the one *out of*, the other *off of* (G. 191, I. 2 and 3). — τοῦτο . . . πλείστον, *for this (thing) was very abundant in the country*, τοῦτο neuter, though referring to μελίνης.



11. ἀμφιλεξάντων τι, *having had some dispute*. — ἀδικεῖν . . . Μένωνος, *that Menon's soldier* (probably one of two who began the quarrel) *was in the wrong* (G. 260, 2). Note the perf. force of ἀδικεῖν, to be ἄδικος, *to have done wrong* (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 4). — ἐνέβαλεν: probably on the spot, with his own staff, after the Spartan fashion. Cf. ii. 3. 11. — ἐχαλέπαινον . . . Κλεάρχῳ, *took it hard* (χαλεπός), *and were exceedingly angry at Clearchus* (G. 184, 2).

12. ἡμέρα: dat. of time (G. 189). — διάβασιν: a *crossing*, first the *act* (see G. 129, 3) and then, as here, the *place*. — τὴν ἀγοράν, *the marketing* (see § 10). — σὺν . . . αὐτόν, *with few* (G. 138. Rem.) *about him*, lit. *with those about him (being) few*. — προσ-ήλαυνε, δι-ελαύνοντα (G. 280): note the force of the prepositions in comp. — ἔησι τῇ ἄξινη, *hurls his axe at him*, lit. *sends (at him, sc. αὐτοῦ, G. 171, 1) with his axe* (G. 188, 1). — αὐτοῦ (G. 171, 1). — λίθῳ: sc. ἔησι.

13. καταφεύγει: diff. in meaning from ἀπο-φεύγω, i. 4. 8? — αὐτοῦ, *there*, i. e. where they were. — τὰς ἀσπίδας . . . θέντας: the left knee was slightly advanced, the shield set firmly in rest upon it, and the spear held in readiness for defence. Clearchus saw that he might be repulsed and obliged to fall back upon his heavy-armed troops. — τοὺς ἱππέας: not mentioned in i. 2. 9. — οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῷ = οὓς εἶχεν. — οἱ πλείστοι: sc. ἦσαν. — ἐκπεπληχθαι, *were thoroughly frightened* (G. 202, 2, N. 2; 266, 1). — οἱ δέ, *but others*, as if τοὺς μὲν stood with τρέχειν. — ἔστασαν, *stood (still)*. See G. 124, 1. — τῷ πράγματι: cause (G. 188, 1).

14. ἔτυχε . . . προσιών, *happened to be coming on later* (G. 279, 4). — αὐτῷ (G. 186). — ἐπομένη: in the same construction as προσιών. ἔτυχε . . . ὀπλιτῶν is parenthetical, and οὖν resumes the narration. — εἰς τὸ μέσον, *between*. — ἄγων: sc. τὴν τάξιν.

Page 20. — ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, *halted under arms*. τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα literally means *to ground arms*, i. e. to stand with the spear and shield resting on the ground. But it sometimes means *to take up any military position* or simply *to appear under arms* (properly in military line), where the original meaning disappears. In § 17, below, κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα means *they moved back to their former places*, i. e. to their quarters, where they had been before the quarrel. It is probable that τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα never means *to stack or pile arms*. — αὐτοῦ . . . καταλευσθῆναι, *when he* (i. e. Clearchus) *had barely escaped*, lit. *had wanted little* (G. 172, 1) *of, being stoned to death*. — λέγοι: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — αὐτοῦ refers to Clearchus; but the preceding use of αὐτοῦ is strange, and Kriiger proposes to omit it. Others have αὐτοῦ here. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, *out from between (them)*.

15. ἐν τούτῳ, *during this time* (sc. τῷ χρόνῳ), *meanwhile*. — καὶ Κῦρος, *Cyrus also*. — τῶν πιστῶν: part. gen. (G. 168). The trusty counsellors or attendants of a Persian prince were called οἱ πιστοί. In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, the twelve elders who form the chorus say of themselves (vs. 1) τάδε . . . Πιστὰ καλεῖται (for καλούμεθα Πιστοί).

16. Πρόξενε: Proxenus now seemed more prominent than Menon. — κατακεκόψεσθαι, *shall be instantly cut to pieces* (G. 200, N. 9). — κακῶς . . .

ἐχόντων = ἐὰν τὰ ἡμέτερα κακῶς ἔχη (G. 226, 1). — τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων, i. e. ἢ οἱ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντες.

17. ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο, *came to himself, recovered his senses*, Lat. ad se rediit. — παυσάμενοι : sc. τῆς μάχης. — κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα : see note on § 14, above.

## CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: As the army advances, traces of the King's cavalry are observed. Orontas, a Persian nobleman, turns traitor to Cyrus and offers to go forward with a thousand horse and cut off the cavalry that is laying the country waste by fire, and to this Cyrus consents (1, 2). Orontas then writes to the King, saying that he shall desert to him with his command; but his messenger betrays him and carries the letter to Cyrus, who arrests the traitor and summons seven Persian noblemen and Clearchus to his tent to try him (3, 4). Clearchus afterwards relates how the trial was conducted (5). Cyrus, he says, stated how Orontas had on two previous occasions proved false to him, but had been again received into favor, and then asked the prisoner if he had since received any injury from him. Orontas acknowledged that Cyrus had never been unjust to him, and that he had no reason to expect further mercy (6-8). Cyrus then referred the case to those present, and Clearchus advised that the culprit should be put to death, in which opinion the others concurred. Orontas is led away to the tent of Artapātes, and is never seen again (9-11).

1. Ἐντεῦθεν : from opposite Charmande. See map. — προϊόντων (sc. αὐτῶν), *as they advanced*, but two lines below, προϊόντες, *keeping ahead* (of the army). — ἐφαίνετο, *there appeared continuously* (G. 135, 2, and n. 1). — ὡς . . . ἵππων, *of about 2000 horse* (G. 169, 1). — οὗτοι : to be referred to the ἱππεῖς implied in ἵππων. — εἴ τι ἄλλο, i. e. *whatever else* (cf. i. 5. 1). — γένει : dat. of respect (G. 188, 1, n. 1). But for βασιλεῖ, see G. 184, 2. — τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος, *reckoned, in matters pertaining to war* (G. 160, 1). — Περσῶν : part. gen. (G. 168). — καὶ πρόσθεν, *previously also*. — πολεμήσας, καταλλαγείς δέ (G. 277, 6).

2. εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη, κ. τ. λ. : Orontas said, εἰ ἔμοι δοίης, ἢ κατακάνοιμι (see κατα-κάνω) ἂν ἢ ἔλοιμι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 245). — ὅτι : in unusual pos.; we should expect rather ὅτι εἰ αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. — ἂν : to be taken also with each of the following opts. (G. 212, 4). — τοῦ κάειν ἐπιόντας, *from attacking* (ἐπιόντας modifying the subj. of κάειν) *and burning* (G. 263, 1). — ποιήσειεν . . . δύνασθαι, *would cause that they should never be able, etc.* ὥστε would generally be omitted in this construction. — ταῦτα : subj. of ἐδόκει.

3. ἤξοι, δύνηται : change of mood in part (G. 247, n. 1). — ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους (G. 232, 3) might have been simply ὡς πλείστους. See note on i. 1. 6. — ὑπο-δέχεσθαι : for the force of ὑπό in comp., cf. ὑπο-λαβών, i. 1. 7. — ἐν-ἦν ἐν : cf. i. 2. 1, and i. 5. 8.

Page 21. — τῆς πρόσθεν : cf. i. 3. 19, and i. 4. 8. — ὁ δέ, *but he* (G. 143, 1, n. 2).

4. ἐπτά, *seven of them*, added to restrict τοὺς ἀρίστους. — θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, *to stand under arms*. Cf. ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα in i. 5. 14, and note. —

**τρισχιλούς**: the great number of men detailed (one quarter of the entire Greek force) would seem to show apprehension on the part of Cyrus. Orontas was a man of influence, and doubtless had many friends among the barbarians. It should be noticed, however, that some of the seven Persians summoned to judge Orontas were his relatives (cf. οἱ συγγενεῖς in § 10).

5. **καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις**, *not only to him* (i. e. Cyrus) *but also to the rest* (i. e. of the Persians); that is, it was generally known that Clearchus was the most prominent man among the Greeks. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων**: part. gen. with **μάλιστα** (G. 168), the thought being strengthened by **πρό** in **προτιμηθῆναι**, *was honored before (the rest)*. — **τὴν κρίσιν ὡς ἐγένετο**: for **ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο**, *how the trial was conducted*. Cf. note on **τῶν βαρβάρων** in i. 1. 5. — **κρίσις** (see G. 129, 3). — **οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν**, i. e. **ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο**. — **τοῦ λόγου**, *the conference* (G. 171, 1).

6. **σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος**, *taking counsel with you*. — **ὃ τι . . . ἀνθρώπων**, *whatever is just*, etc., rel. clause, summed up emphat. in **τοῦτο**. — **πρός**, *in the sight of* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1, α). — **πράξω**: subj., not fut. (G. 216, 2). — **τουτοῦ**: with an emphatic gesture (G. 83, N. 2). — **ἐμός**: with the art. (G. 147). — **εἶναι**: purpose (G. 265). — **ἐμοί**: with **ὑπήκοον** (G. 185). — **ὡς ἔφη αὐτός**, *as he himself said* (G. 145, 1). In such cases **αὐτός** is always adj. (= ipse), never substantive; although in English we can often render it (as here) by an emphatic *he*. Cyrus discredits the statement. Cyrus, probably, in his capacity of military commander (**κάρανος**) of Western Asia Minor had put Orontas in charge of Sardis. When, therefore, Artaxerxes became King and Orontas renounced the authority of Cyrus, it was an easy matter for him to take forcible and absolute possession of the city. — **καὶ ἐγὼ ἐποίησα**, *and I brought it about*, dependent on **ἐπεί**, above. The principal clause begins at **μετὰ ταῦτα** in § 7. — **αὐτόν**: not the obj. of **προσπολεμῶν**, which takes the dat. Cyrus began to say, **ἐγὼ αὐτόν** (*him*, emphat.) **προσπολεμῶν** (manner) **ἐποίησα τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι** (**αὐτόν** being subj. of **παύσασθαι**), but changed the constr. to an *anacoluthon* by inserting **ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ** (on which see note on § 2). — **δεξιὰν . . . ἔδωκα**: among the Persians a pledge of especial solemnity.

7. **μετὰ ταῦτα**, *since that*, i. e. the pledge given and received. Notice the abrupt change of address from the council to Orontas. — **ἔστιν . . . ἡδίκησα**, *is* (G. 28, N. 1, end) *there any wrong which I have done you?* — **οὐ** (G. 29, N. 1): sc. **ἔστι** (or **εἴη**); or we may consider **οὐ** as a direct quotation, “No” (G. 241, 2, N.), like **οὐδ’** . . . **δόξαιμι**, below, in § 8. — **ἡρώτα**, *went on asking*, but the aor. **ἡρώτησεν** in § 8 with reference to the single question, *asked*. — **Οὐκοῦν**: expecting an affirm. answer (G. 282, 2). The diff. between this word and **οὐκουν**? See the lexicon. — **οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος** (G. 277, 5): see note on **τί ἀδικηθεῖς** in § 8. For **ἀδικούμενος** see the note on **ἀδικεῖν**, i. 5. 11. — **κακῶς ἐπολεῖς** (G. 165, N. 1). — **ὃ τι ἐδύνω**, *in what you were able*. — **ἔφη**, *said* “Yes.” — **ἔγνωσ**, *came to know, had ascertained, saw*. — **μεταμέλειν σοι**: in the dir. form, **μεταμέλει μοι** (G. 184, 2, N. 1). — **ὁμο-λογέω**: der.?

8. **ἀδικηθεῖς** (G. 277, 2), though pass., has **τί** as cogn. accus. (G. 159;



197, 1, N. 2). So, below, οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς, and οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος in § 7. — ἐπιβουλεύων (G. 280, N. 1): cf. δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος in i. 2. 11.

Page 22. — οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς: either a direct quotation, or an indirect quotation with ἐπιβουλεύων . . . γέγονε understood. — περὶ ἐμέ: cf. περὶ ἡμᾶς, περὶ ἐκείνους in i. 4. 8. — γεγενῆσθαι (G. 246). — Ἦ γάρ, (I confess) *for in truth*, etc. — ἂν γένοιτο (G. 226, 2 b). — ἀδελφῶ (G. 186). — ὅτι (G. 241, 2, N.).

9. πρὸς ταῦτα, *in view of this, thereupon*. — πρῶτος, *the first*: what would πρῶτον mean? — ἀποφῆναι: voice? Distinguish from ἀποφῆναι and ἀποφῆναι. — ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ: indir. quest. depending on the idea of *declare* in ἀποφῆναι γνώμην. — τοῦτον: expressed three times, contemptuously. — ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, *to put out of the way*. — ὥς δέη, ἦ: final (G. 216). — ἡμῖν, i. e. to you and me, said arrogantly. Why dat.? — τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, *as far as this fellow is concerned* (G. 268, N.). — τοὺς . . . τούτους, *these (with a gesture) who are your friends of their own free will*, lit. *these your volunteer friends* (ἐθελοντάς, noun, not ἐθέλοντας). — εὖ ποιεῖν: cf. κακῶς ἐπολεῖς in § 7.

10. ἔφη, i. e. Clearchus, when the trial was over. — ἔλαβον . . . Ὀρόν-ταν, *took Orontas by the girdle* (G. 171, 1, N.). — ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, *as a sign that he was capitally condemned*, but, below, ἐπὶ θάνατον, with a verb of motion, *to execution*. — καί, *even*. — οἷς προσετάχθη, *to whom it was appointed*, sc. ἐξάγειν. — προσεκύνουν, προσεκύνησαν: why a change of tense? προσ-εκύνω in application to Orientals means *to prostrate one's self*. — καίπερ εἰδότες, *although they knew* (G. 277, N. 1 b). — ἄγοιτο: why opt.?

11. σκηπτούχων: der.? Der. of σκῆπτρον? — οὔτε οὐδεῖς: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). So οὐδὲ οὐδεῖς, following. — ὅπως (*how*) ἀπέθανεν: perhaps he was buried alive; see Her. vii. 114, where the historian states that this was a Persian custom. — εἰδώς, *from his own knowledge*. — ἄλλοι ἄλλως, *some in one way, others in another*.

## CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds through Babylonia, and at the end of the third day's march reviews his troops (1). He receives information respecting the King's army, and assembles his Greek officers for consultation (2). He exhorts them to display their zeal in his service (3), describes the manner of a Persian onset, and promises to reward them magnificently in case of victory (4). Gaultes says there are doubts as to the sincerity of Cyrus and his ability to fulfil his promises (5), whereupon the latter reviews the extent of country he hopes to conquer and promises a crown to each Greek (6, 7). The Greeks are much encouraged by these assurances (8). Cyrus expresses a decided opinion that his brother will not refuse to engage with him (9). The Greeks and barbarians are numbered (10), and some account is given of the King's forces (11–13). Cyrus advances a day's march further, and at midday comes to a deep trench dug by the King, beyond which he succeeds in making his way (14–16). The King does not come to an engagement, and traces of his retreat are observed (17). Cyrus rewards the soothsayer Silānus (18), and, concluding that the King has given up the intention of fighting, proceeds with less caution (19, 20).



1. Ἐντεῦθεν: probably from near Pylae (i. 5. 5). See i. 6. 1, and note. — μέσας νύκτας, *midnight*, pl. with reference to the various watches (φυλακαί) into which the night was divided. — ἐδόκει, *he thought*. See lexicon, δοκέω. — εἰς . . . ἔω, *at daybreak* (G. 42, 2, N. 1); εἰς with reference to the time when the dawn shall have been *reached* (G. 191, III. 1, b). — μαχοῦμενον: future (G. 277, 3). — κέρως: form and case? See G. 56, 2; 171, 3. — τοῦ εὐωνύμου, i. e. of the Greeks, who were next the river. Cyrus drew up (διέταξε, *disposuit*) his barbarian force (τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ) on the left of the entire Greek force.

2. ἡμέρα: case (G. 186). — αὐτό-μολοι: αὐτός and μολ-, *go*; cf. ἔμολον, 2 aorist of βλώσσω. See also G. 131, 1.

Page 23. — πῶς ἂν . . . ποιοῖτο, *how* (G. 282, 1) *he should make the fight*, i. e. if there should be one (G. 226, 2 b). — παρήνει . . . τοιαῦδε, *exhorted and encouraged them as follows* (G. 148, N. 1).

3. ἀνθρώπων: with ἀπορῶν (G. 172, 1), *not because in want of barbarians*. He adds ἀνθρώπων contemptuously to βαρβάρων, but calls the Greeks ἄνδρες. See note on § 4. — ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους, *braver and mightier* (der. from κράτος). — διὰ τοῦτο: takes up νομίζων, *because I thought*, . . . *on this account*. — προσ-έλαβον: force of the prep.? — ὅπως ἔσεσθε: sc. σκοπεῖτε (G. 217, N. 4, ex.). — ἧς . . . ἧς, *which* (G. 153) *you possess* (see κτάομαι) *and on account of which* (G. 173, 1), etc. — ἴστε: see οἶδα. — ἐλοίμην ἂν: prot. not expressed (G. 226, 2 b). — ἀνθ' ὧν . . . πάντων, *in preference to all that* (G. 154, N.) *I have*. The Persian government was an absolute despotism, and regarded all in dependence upon the King as his slaves. In i. 9. 29, Cyrus is called the δούλος of Artaxerxes. — πολλαπλασίων: a multiplicative in πλάσιος, derived from πολὺς. Cf. δι-πλάσιος, *twice* (δὶς) *as many*, etc.

4. ὅπως . . . εἰδῆτε (see οἶδα): not object clause, as above (ὅπως ἔσεσθε), but final (G. 216, 1). — εἰς οἶον . . . ἀγῶνα, *into what sort of a struggle you are going*; indir. quest. (G. 282, 1). Cf. below, οἶους γνώσεσθε ἀνθρώπους. — τὸ πλῆθος: sc. ἐστί. — ἐπίασιν (G. 200, N. 3 b). — ταῦτα, i. e. their numbers and outcry. — τᾶλλα . . . ἀνθρώπους, *as to all else, I feel* (lit. *seem to myself to be*) *even ashamed* (when I think) *what sort of men* (ἀνθρώπους with emphasized contempt at the end of the sentence) *you will find those in our country are* (G. 280). — ἡμῖν is the ethical dat. (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — ὑμῶν δὲ . . . γενομένων, *but since you are* (G. 277, 2) *men* (emphatic), *and if you shall prove yourselves* (= εἰὰν γένησθε, G. 277, 4) *of good courage*. With ἀνδρῶν and ἀνθρώπους here cf. what Herod. (vii. 210) says of the Medes at Thermopylae, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. — ὑμῶν τὸν βουλόμενον, *whoever of you* (G. 168) *shall wish* (G. 276, 2). — τοῖς οἴκοι, *his friends at home* (masc.); but, just following, τῶν οἴκοι (neut.), *things at home*. τοῖς οἴκοι is a dative of the agent with the verbal ζηλωτός; this is the regular construction with the verbal in -τέος (G. 188, 3 and 4).

5. πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, *in the confidence of Cyrus*. It was probably at the direction of Cyrus that Gaulites spoke. — καὶ μὴν: lit. *and in truth*; free Eng., *but yet*. — διὰ . . . προσιόντος, *on account of your being* (G. 262, 1)

at such (a critical point) of the danger that is approaching. *κινδύνου* limits *τοιούτω* (G. 168), but *προσιόντος* is still causal (G. 277, 2), the thought being, *you promise, etc., because the danger is approaching.* — *ἂν εὖ γένηται* τι: a purposely vague ref. to his present undertaking. — *μεμνήσεσθαι* (fut. perf.), serving as simple future to *μέμνημαι* (G. 200, N. 6). — *ἐνιοι δέ*: sc. *φασί.* — *οὐδ' εἰ . . . δύνασθαι ἂν* (G. 211), *not even if, etc., would you be able* (G. 246; 224). — *μεμνήη*: formed without connecting-vowel (cf. G. 118, 1. N.), *μεμνη-ιμην, μεμνήμην, μεμνη-ιο, μεμνήη*, etc. The common forms *μεμνώμην, μεμνώω*, etc.

6. *ἔστι* (G. 28, N. 1, end) *πρὸς μεσημβρίαν*, *is (extends) towards the south.* *ἡμῖν* is a dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). Derivation of *μεσ-ημβρία*? — *μέχρι οὗ*, *to the point at which (down to where)*, neut. relative with prep. (G. 191, I. 5): in full *μέχρι τούτου τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ.* — *τὰ . . . πάντα*, *but all between these (limits)*: cf. *τὸ μέσον τῶν τευχῶν* in i. 4. 4.

7. *τούτων*: with *ἐγκρατεῖς* (G. 180, 1). — *μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ* (indirect question, G. 244), *that I shall not (G. 215, N. 1) know (lit. shall not have) what to give*; the direct form for *ὅ τι δῶ* would be *τί δῶ*; *what shall I give?* (G. 256). So *οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι εἶπω* (or *τί εἶπω*), *non habeo quod (or quid) dicam.* Here *οὐκ ἔχω* is nearly equivalent to *ἀπορῶ*, *to be at a loss*, and the indirect question in *ὅ τι δῶ*, etc. is plain. But the analogy of the familiar expression *οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ*, *I have nothing to give* (in which the interrogative and relative constructions are sometimes hard to distinguish), gave rise occasionally to the corresponding expression *ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ*, *I have something to give*, in which the relative character greatly preponderates; and here we have (below) *ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ*, *I have enough to give to*, where the construction is purely relative. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 65, 1, N. 3 (a). — *ἂν εὖ γένηται* (sc. *τὰ πράγματα*). — *στέφανον*: not, of course, as a badge of sovereignty, but as a mark of distinguished military service, like the medals and crosses of to-day. A crown was often bestowed in this way as a reward of merit among the Greeks.

Page 24. — 8. *ἦσαν*, i. e. the generals and captains. Cf. § 2. — *σφί-σιν*: indirect reflexive (G. 144, 2). — *ἐμπιμπλὰς τὴν γνώμην*, *satisfying the mind.*

9. *παρεκελεύοντο . . . τάττεσθαι*: had Cyrus followed this advice, the whole course of Persian history might have been changed. — *μάχεσθαι*, i. e. in person. — *ἐαυτῶν*: with *ᾧπισθεν* (G. 182, 2). — *γάρ*: with ref. to an unexpressed statement: (all this advice is unnecessary) or (there is no real danger) *for do you think, Cyrus, etc.* We should say, *What! do you think, etc.* — *Νῆ Δία* (G. 163), *Yes, by Zeus (he will fight)*, sc. *μαχεῖται.* — *ἐμὸς ἀδελφός*, *a brother of mine*: *ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφός* would be *my brother.* — *ταῦτα*: with a gesture.

10. *ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ*, *under arms, in procinctu.* — *ἐγένετο*, *was found to be.* — *ἀσπίς . . . τετρακοσία*, 10,400 *shield*, just as we say “a thousand horse.” — The sum total here given cannot be made to tally with the numbers previously given separately; and it is unsatisfactory to speculate on the causes of the discrepancy.

11. **ἐκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες**: probably overstated. Ctesias, the King's private physician (mentioned in i. 8. 26), gave the number as 400,000. — **ἄλλοι**, *besides*. Cf. i. 5. 5. — **αὐτῷ**, *moreover*.

12. **τοῦ**: with **στρατεύματος**. — **ἄρχοντες . . . ἡγεμόνες**: notice **καὶ** before both the last two titles, while the proper names below have no conjunction. These are both common forms in Greek, while in English we generally use *and* only before the last noun in such a series. — **μάχης**: after **ὑστέρησε** (der. from **ὑστέρος**) implying comparison (G. 175, 2). — **ἡμέραις** (G. 188, 2).

13. **οἱ . . . βασιλέως**, *those who had deserted from the ranks of* (lit. *out of*) *the enemy from (the side of) the great King*, etc. **τῶν πολεμίων**, at the end of the section, depends on **οἱ** (G. 168). The number of prepositional phrases in this short section is worthy of note. — **ταῦτά**: distinguish carefully from **ταῦτα** above.

14. **συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι**: the noun is a dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), and the part. expresses the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). This force of the part. will be easily seen, if the idea of accompaniment is dropped and the gen. abs. is substituted, **συντεταγμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος**.

Page 25. — **μέσον** (G. 142, 4, N. 4). — **τάφρος**: the word in itself signifies an *artificial* ditch (cf. **θάπτω, τάφος**), but this idea is emphasized by **ὀρυκτῇ**. — **ὀργυιαί**: in apposition to **τάφρος**, where we should expect rather **ὀργυίων** (G. 167, 5). Cf. **ποδῶν** at the end of § 15. The **ὀργυιά**, the length of the outstretched arms (**ὀρέγω**, *to stretch out*), measured about a fathom (6 feet) and was equal to four **πήχεις**.

15. **παρετέτατο** (G. 109, 6 and 4). — **ἐπὶ**, *upon, over, to the length of*. — **τοῦ τείχους**: see note on ii. 4. 12. The ditch was dug northward, obliquely (not at right angles, like the wall) to the Euphrates, which here runs about S. E. — **διώρυχες**: sc. **εἰσὶ**. Derivation of **δι-ὠρυξ**? — **ρέουσai**, *which flow* (G. 276, 1). — **ρέουσai, πλεῖ** (G. 98, N. 1). — **σιτ-αγωγά**: derivation? See also G. 131, 1. — **διαλείπουσι**, *are distant* (from one another), lit. *leave an interval*. — **ποταμοῦ, τάφρου** (G. 182, 2). — Why the ditch had not been completed to the river is not stated. The most reasonable of the many conjectures that have been made with reference to this is, that Cyrus had surprised the King by his rapid marching, and that the latter had in consequence abandoned the work in alarm when almost completed.

16. **προσελαύνοντα** (G. 280). — **παρῆλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο**: the point of view shifts; Cyrus being prominent as subject of **παρῆλθε**, and the whole army as subject of **ἐγένοντο**.

17. **μέν**: see **τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ** in § 20. — **ἦσαν**: plural, perhaps, because two kinds of tracks are mentioned.

18. **Ἀμβρακίωτην**: force of suffix? See G. 129, 10. — **μάντιν**: der.? — **δαραίκοις**: the **στατήρ Δαραικός**, commonly called **Δαραικός**, was a Persian gold coin, containing about 125.5 grains of gold. It would, therefore, now be worth about \$5.40 in our gold (\$1.00 having 23.22 grains). Here Cyrus pays a bet of 10 talents (60,000 drachmas) with 3000 Darics, which shows that the Daric was worth 20 drachmas, or \$3.60 in silver. The difference in these two results comes from the change in the proportional values of



gold and silver. In antiquity the proportion was about 10 : 1; now it is about 16 : 1. As the Daric was a gold coin, of course the former value (about \$5.40) is the correct one. The Daric is commonly supposed to have derived its name from Darius, the father of Xerxes. In the same way we have *Napoleon*, *Louis d'or*, etc., as names of coins. — ἀπ' ἐκείνης, i. e. *before that (day)*. — ὅτι τῇ . . . εἶπεν: causal (G. 250). — ἡμερῶν (G. 179, 1). Cf. ἡμέρα, above (G. 189), and σταθμόν, § 14 (G. 161). — Οὐκ . . . μαχεῖται, *he will not fight then at all* (lit. *hereafter*); see οὐκ ἔτι in lexicon. — οὐ: οὐ rather than μὴ μαχεῖται (G. 219, 3, N.), because he is consciously repeating the statement of Silānus (G. 223, N. 1). — ἀληθεύσης, *shall prove to be speaking the truth*; the future apodosis is in δώσειν or δοῦναι understood with ὑπισχνούμαι. — παρήλθον: see note on i. 1. 3.

19. ἐκώλυε: attempted action. — ἔδοξε: personal. — ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι, *to have abandoned the idea of fighting* (G. 262, 2; 174). — τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ: sc. ἡμέρα. — ὥστε ἐπορεύετο (G. 237). — ἡμελημένως: adverb formed from the perfect passive participle of ἀμελέω.

20. καθήμενος, ἔχων: manner (G. 277, 2). — αὐτῷ: a dative of disadvantage, but στρατιώταις, just below, one of advantage (G. 184, 3).

## CHAPTER VIII.

SYNOPSIS: Near the station where he intends to halt for breakfast, Cyrus is met by Pategyas riding at full speed, who calls out that the King and his army are approaching (1). Great confusion ensues (2), and Cyrus gives orders for all to arm and fall into line (3). They begin to form as quickly as possible (4, 5), and Cyrus stations himself at their centre (6, 7). The enemy approach slowly and in silence, prepared for battle (8–11). Cyrus calls to Clearchus to attack the centre where the King is, but he is unwilling to do so (12, 13). The King's army continues to advance, the Greek force being not yet completely in line. Cyrus surveys both armies, and tells Xenophon, who rides up to him, to announce that the sacrifices are favorable (14, 15). The watchword is passed along the ranks of the Greeks, and then they advance chanting the paean (16, 17). They begin to move more and more rapidly, raising a shout to the God of War, at which the barbarians on the right of the King's army give way and take flight (18–20). Cyrus is pleased at the sight, but does not join in the pursuit. He directs his attention towards the King, who is beyond his extreme left, and then, in fear that he may be encircled, moves directly upon him, putting to rout the troops in front (21–24). He attacks the King in person and wounds him, but is himself struck with a javelin and killed. Artapātes dies upon his body (25–29).

1. ἦν (G. 134, N. 1 c). — ἀγορὰν πλήθουσας, *the time of full market*, i. e. from nine or ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Four parts of the day were designated, πρῶ (ii. 2. 1), ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα, μέσον ἡμέρας (§ 8), and δεῖλη (§ 8).

Page 26. — σταθμός: here *halting-place*. Cf. note on σταθμούς, i. 2. 5. — ἐμελλε, i. e. Cyrus. For ἐμελλε καταλύειν, expressing past intention, see G. 118, 6; *Moods and Tenses*, § 25, 2, N. 2. — καταλύειν, *to halt* (i. e.



for breakfast), lit. *to unyoke, to loose* the horses. Cf. *καταλύσομεν ἵππους*, *Odyss.* iv. 28; and *καταλύει παρ' ἐμοί*, *he lodges at my house*. — *προ-φαίνεται* . . . *κράτος*, *comes into view in front, riding at the top of his speed* (lit. *up to his might*). — *ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵπῳ* (G. 188, 5), *with his horse in a sweat*: the part. expresses attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). Cf. *συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι* in i. 7. 14, and note. — *ὡς εἰς μάχην*, *apparently for battle*.

2. *αὐτίκα*: construe with *ἐπιπείσασθαι*; put first for emphasis. — *καὶ πάντες δέ*, *and all too*, i. e. Persians as well as Greeks (cf. i. 1. 2, and note). — *σφίσιν* (G. 144, 2). — *ἐπιπείσασθαι*, i. e. the King (G. 260, 2).

3. Note in the first two lines the repeated use of the article as a possessive pronoun (G. 141, n. 2). — *τὰ παλτά*: each Persian horseman carried two javelins into battle. Cf. i. 5. 15.

4. *τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος*, *the right* (sc. *μέρη, parts*) *of the wing*. *κέρας* here must mean the right wing, *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν*, of the entire force of Cyrus, as opposed to the left wing where most of the barbarians stood (§ 5). This distinction is plain in *ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ* and *ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ* (§ 5). But below, *τὸ εὐωνύμον κέρας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ* means *the left wing* of this same Greek division (or *κέρας*). — *πρός*, *in front of, near*. — *ἐχόμενος*, *next to*, lit. *holding on to*, sc. *Κλεάρχου* (G. 199, n. 3; 171, 1). Cf. *ἐχόμενοι τούτων* in § 9.

5. *τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ*: part. gen. with *ἵππεῖς* (G. 168). — *εἰς*: cf. i. 2. 3, and note. — *ἔστησαν*, *took their position*. The Paphlagonian cavalry and Greek peltasts were stationed here to support the hoplites under Clearchus and follow up the advantage in case these slower troops should put the enemy to rout.

6. *Κῦρος . . . ὀπλισμένοι* (sc. *ἔστησαν*), i. e. *stood armed*. — *δσον*, (*so much*) *as = about*. Cf. note on *εἰς* in i. 2. 3. — *θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ . . . Κύρου*, (*the men*) *themselves on their part (μὲν) with breastplates, cuissacs (thigh-pieces), and helmets — all except Cyrus*. The exception refers only to *κράνεσι*, as appears from the following *Κῦρος δέ, κ. τ. λ. οἱ δ' ἵπποι* (in § 7) corresponds to *θώραξι μὲν αὐτοί*. *Κύρου*: case (G. 191, I. 5). — *ψιλήν . . . κεφαλὴν*, *with his head unprotected* (G. 138, Rem.). Ctesias (in Plutarch, *Artax.* 11) says that Cyrus wore a tiara in place of a helmet.

7. Notice the derivation of *προ-μετ-ωπίδια* and *προ-στερνίδια*. — *μαχαίρας*: difference between the *μάχαιρα* and *ξίφος*?

8. Cf. the beginning of this section with that of § 1. — *ἤνίκα . . . ἐγγίγνετο*, *but when it began to be* (lit. *was becoming*) *afternoon*. Cf. note on § 1. The battle was fought between this time and dark. — *ἐφάνη*, *there was seen*. — *κονι-ορτός*: der.? — *χρόνῳ . . . πολὺ*, *but some time* (G. 188, 2) *later* (*the dust appeared*) *just like a sort of blackness in the plain for a great distance* (*ἐπὶ πολὺ*). — *χαλκός τις ἥστραπτε*, *here and there* (*τις*) *their bronze armor began to flash*.

9. *λευκο-θώρακες*: probably of linen; cf. *λινοθώρηξ*, *Il.* ii. 539.

Page 27. — *ἐχόμενοι τούτων*: cf. note on *ἐχόμενος* in § 4. — *κατὰ ἔθνη*, *nation by nation* (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c). — *ἐκαστον τὸ ἔθνος*: in appos. to *οὗτοι*, but attracting *ἐπορεύετο* into an agreement with it: *but these were all proceeding* (normally *ἐπορεύοντο*) *nation by nation, each nation in the form of a solid square*.

10. ἄρματα: sc. ἦν. — καλούμενα: cf. note on καλουμένη in i. 2. 13. — ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων: inserted into the projecting extremity of the axle and stationary. — εἰς πλάγιον, *sideways*. — βλέποντα, *pointing*. — ὥς διακόπτειν: result (G. 266, N. 1). — ὅτῳ (i. e. ᾧτινι, G. 86). — ἐντυγχάνοιεν (G. 248, 2). — ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὥς . . . ἐλῶντα (see ἐλαύνω), κ. τ. λ., and they were designed to drive, etc.; the partic. are nomin., as if γνώμην εἶχεν had preceded, and ὥς is used (G. 277, N. 2) as if the chariots themselves had the design. The covinni, or scythe-chariots of the ancient Britons, are well known.

11. δ μέντοι, *what however*, taken up in τοῦτο, two lines below. — καλέσας . . . Ἕλλησι: we might have had (cf. i. 7. 18) καλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς, but in Greek the obj. is regularly expressed but once. — ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο, *in this* (G. 160, 1) *he was mistaken*. — κραυγῇ: manner: so σιγῇ, ἡσυχῇ. — σιγῇ ὥς ἀνυστόν, *with as little noise as possible*; in full ὥς ἀνυστόν ἦν προσιέναι σιγῇ: see note on ἡ δυνατόν μάλιστα in i. 3. 15. — ἐν ἴσῳ, *with even step*, sc. βήματι: cf. ὁμαλῶς in § 14.

12. αὐτός, i. e. attended *only* by Pigres and the few others mentioned. — ἄγειν: obj. inf. not in indirect disc., following ἐβόα as it would ἐκέλευε (G. 260, 1). — τὸ τῶν πολεμίων (G. 142, 2). — ὅτι εἴη: causal (G. 250, N.). — κἂν (καὶ ἂν) νικῶμεν (G. 223). The apod. πεποιήται, though a perf. in form, refers vividly to the fut. (G. 200, N. 7), *our whole work is (will be) done*. — ἡμῖν (G. 197, 21).

13. ὁρῶν τὸ μέσον στίφος, *though he saw the compact body at the centre* (στίφος from στεῖβω, *to tread*), i. e. the 6000 cavalry mentioned in i. 7. 11. ἀκούων is also concessive (G. 277, 5). — Κύρου: gen. of source (G. 171, 2, N. 1). The clause ἔξω ὄντα (G. 280) . . . βασιλέα constitutes the obj. acc. — τοῦ εὐωνύμου: with ἔξω (G. 182, 2). — τοσοῦτον . . . ἔξω ἦν: parenth. — πλῆθει, *in numbers* (G. 188, 1, N. 1). — ἀλλ' ὁμως, *but still*, resuming after the parenthesis, with emphatic repetition of ὁ Κλέαρχος. — μὴ κυκλωθεῖη, *that he might be encircled* (der. from κύκλος; cf. Eng. *cycle*). Why opt.? — ὅτι αὐτῷ . . . ἔχοι: he said ἐμοὶ μέλει (G. 184, 2, N. 1, the clause that follows being the object gen.) ὅπως καλῶς ἔχῃ (G. 217, N. 1). — If Clearchus had been less cautious and obeyed orders, the result of the battle might have been very different. Plutarch (*Artax.* 8) says of Clearchus: ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἔξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν.

14. τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα: the King's army. — ὁμαλῶς: cf. ἐν ἴσῳ in § 11, and note. — συνετάττετο . . . προσιόντων, *was forming its line from those still coming up*. — οὐ πάνυ πρὸς, *by no means near, at some distance from*. — πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι means *near the army itself*, αὐτῷ strengthening the idea of nearness. — ἐκατέρωσε (with ἀποβλέπων): cf. ἐκατέρωθεν in § 13, and see G. 61. — κατεθεᾶτο, *took a survey*: ὁράω, *to see in general*; βλέπω, *to turn the eyes, look*; θεάομαι, *to gaze at*.

15. Ξενοφῶν: the first mention of Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. — ὥς συναντήσαι: purpose (G. 266, N. 1). — εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι, *whether* (G. 282, 4) *he had any commands* (G. 243). — ἐπιστήσας (sc. τὸν ἵππον), *pulling up*.

Page 28. — ἱερά, *omens from inspecting the inwards of the victims*; σφάγια, *omens from the acts and movements of the victims*.

16. λέγων, *while saying* (G. 277, 1). — τίς . . . εἶη, *what the noise was* (G. 243); but two lines below, ὃ τι εἶη, κ. τ. λ. (G. 149, 2<sup>2</sup>). — ὁ Κλέαρχος: Clearchus had ridden up in the mean time; some MSS. have Ξενοφών. — σύνθημα, *a thing agreed upon* (συν-τίθημι), *watchword*. — παρέρχεται: what might have been the mood? Cf. παραγγέλλει and εἶη, below. — δεύτερον: the watchword passed first down the line from man to man, and then back again to make sure that it was understood. — καὶ ὅς, *and he*, i. e. Cyrus (G. 151, N. 3<sup>2</sup>). — τίς παραγγέλλει, i. e. *who was giving it out* without his approval.

17. Ἄλλὰ . . . ἔστω, *well, I accept it* (the password), *and let it be this*. ἀλλά marks the opposition between his present concession and preceding surprise. — καὶ οὐκέτι . . . ἀλλήλων, i. e. *the two lines were now less than three or four stades* (G. 161) *apart*. — διειχέτην τῷ φάλαγγε (G. 33, 1; 78, N. 2). — ἐπαιάνιζον, *began to sing the paean*, as an omen of victory. — προήρχοντο, *began first* (πρό), i. e. *before the enemy*. — ἀντίοι (G. 138, N. 8; 185).

18. ὡς δὲ . . . φάλαγγος, *but when, as they* (sc. αὐτῶν) *proceeded, a part* (sc. μέρος with τι) *of the phalanx* (G. 168) *surged forward* (beyond the rest), *lit. billowed out* (κύμα, *a wave*), etc. — δρόμῳ θεῖν, *to go on the run*, *double quick* (dat. of manner). — οἰδόνπερ . . . ἐλελίζουσι, *just as they raise the war-cry to Enyalios (Ares): ἐλελίζω, to shout ἐλελεῦ*. — καὶ πάντες δέ: cf. § 2 and note. — φόβον . . . ἵπποις (G. 277, 6), *thereby frightening* (lit. *causing fright among*) *the horses* (G. 184, 3).

19. πρὶν δὲ . . . ἐξικνεῖσθαι: lit. *before an arrow reached them*, i. e. *before the Greeks got within bowshot of them* (G. 274). — κατὰ κράτος: cf. ἀνὰ κράτος in § 1. — θεῖν δρόμῳ: here involving the idea of confusion and disorder (cf. § 18).

20. τὰ δ' ἄρματα, i. e. *of the enemy*. — τὰ μὲν, τὰ δέ: in partitive apposition to ἄρματα (G. 137, N. 2). — ἡνιόχων (G. 180, 1): derived from ἡνία, *a rein*, and ἔχω. — ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, δίσταντο, *stood apart (separated), whenever they saw them in front of them* (G. 233). — ἔστι δ' ὅστις: we should expect rather ἦν δέ τις ὅς. Cf. the expressions in G. 152, N. 2, and ἦν οὗς in i. 5. 7, with note. — κατελήφθη ἐκπλαγείς, *was caught* (i. e. *by not getting out of the way of a chariot*) *in his consternation*. — ἵπποδρόμῳ: derivation? — καὶ . . . ἔφασαν, *and yet, in fact* (καὶ μέντοι), *they said that not even he suffered any harm* (οὐδέν, G. 159, N. 2). — οὐδὲ . . . δέ: the negative expression corresponding to καὶ . . . δέ. Cf. i. 1. 2, and note. — οὐδ' οὐδείς οὐδέν: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). So just preceding οὐδέν οὐδέ. — τίς, probably, *a single man*.

21. ὁρῶν, *when he saw*. — νικῶντας, διώκοντας: pred. participles in indirect discourse (G. 280). — τὸ καθ' αὐτούς: sc. πλήθος or στράτευμα. — ἡδόμενος, *although he was pleased*. — οὐδ' ὥς (G. 29, N. 1), *not even then* (under these circumstances). — ἐξήχθη, *was led on, tempted* (ἐξάγω). — συνεσπειραμένην: cf. note on ἐκκεκαλυμμένης in i. 2. 16: σπειράομαι, *to be coiled up*, from σπείρα (cf. Eng. *spiral*). — ποιήσει, *would do*, might have been ποιήσοι (G. 243). — ᾗδαι αὐτὸν ὅτι ἔχοι, *knew him that he had*, i. e. *knew that*



he had. Cf. i. 1. 5, and note. The thought could be expressed also in this way, ἦδαι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, but not αὐτὸν ἔχειν (G. 280, and N. 3).

Page 29. — 22. τὸ αὐτῶν (G. 142, 2; 167, 1). — ἡγούνται, *command*, i. e. they always hold this position in commanding their armies. — οὕτω, *thus*, takes up the idea of μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν, and is itself further defined by ἦν ἡ . . . ἐκατέρωθεν, *thus, viz. if part of their force is on either side of them*: οὕτω has besides a conditional force on αἰσθάνεσθαι ἄν. — ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ: sc. τόπῳ. — εἶναι (G. 260, 2) is apod. to the general cond. ἦν ἡ (G. 225). — ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν (G. 142, 4, N. 3). — εἰ χρήζοιεν . . . ἂν αἰσθάνεσθαι (G. 246; 247, N. 3): cf. also G. 226, 3; 211. — ἡμίσει χρόνῳ: more commonly ἐν ἡμίσει χρόνῳ (G. 189, N. 2).

23. δὴ τότε . . . ὁμως, i. e. the King accordingly (δὴ) on this occasion held (G. 277, 5) the centre, but still, etc. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου (sc. μέρους), *from the opposite side*. — αὐτοῦ: with ἔμπροσθεν (G. 182, 2). — ἐπέκαμπεν . . . κύκλωσιν, *wheeled round* (lit. against), as if to encircle them. By this movement the King's left, from being at right angles to the river, came to face it. — κύκλωσιν (G. 129, 3).

24. μὴ κατακόφῃ (G. 216, 2; 201, Rem.). — ἐλαύνει ἀντίος, *advances against him* (G. 138, N. 7). — τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους: identical with τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους, but expressed to emphasize the contrast between the two forces, 600 on one side, 6,000 on the other. — αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ, *himself with his own hand*.

25. τροπή, the turning of an enemy, *rout* (G. 129, 1). — εἰς τὸ διώκειν, *in pursuit* (G. 262, 1). — πλήν: here a conj. Cf. its use as a prep. in i. 2. 1. — σχεδὸν . . . καλούμενοι, *chiefly his so-called* (cf. note on i. 2. 13) *table-companions*.

26. τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στῖφος: the King's ὁμοτράπεζοι, probably, in turn, who, now that the 6,000 had fled, formed a crowd (στῖφος) about him for his protection. — ἠνέσχετο: double augm. (G. 105, 1, N. 3). — καὶ ἰᾶσθαι . . . φησι, *and he says that he himself healed* (he said ἰώμην, G. 203, N. 1) *the wound*. The present infinitive can be used for the imperfect only when something in the sentence or in the context makes it plain that this is the case: here (as often) the well-known time of the event makes the meaning plain. (See examples in *Moods and Tenses*, § 15, 3.) We should expect here a relative sentence. The conjecture has been made, *ὅς καὶ ἰᾶσθαι, κ. τ. λ., who says also*, etc.

27. αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus. — ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, *under the eye* (implying motion towards the eye). — μαχόμενοι . . . ἐκατέρου: the construction begun by these subjects is not finished, except so far as it is partially resumed in Κύρος δέ; but it breaks suddenly off in the indirect quest. ὁπόσοι . . . ἀπέθνησκον. — ἀπέθνησκον refers to several being killed at different times, whereas ἀπέθανε is used of Cyrus alone. — Κτησίας λέγει: we should say, *this I leave for Ctesias to tell*. — ἔκειντο, *lay dead, jacebant*.

28. ὁ πιστότατος θεράπων, *the attendant most in his confidence*. — πεπτωκότα: quoted after εἶδε (G. 280). — περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ: lit. *to have fallen about him* (G. 187), i. e. so as to embrace him. Cf. Q. Curtius, viii. 11. 16: *super amici corpus procubuit*.



29. καὶ . . . Κύρῳ: construe in the Greek order. — ἐπισφάξει αὐτὸν (Artapates) Κύρῳ (G. 187), *to slay him over Cyrus*, i. e. as a sacrifice. See ἐπισφάξω in lexicon. — ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι: strongly reflexive, *slew himself by his own hand*, ἑαυτὸν being added to the verb already in the mid. Note the force of σπασάμενον (G. 199, 3). — εὖνοϊαν, πιστότητα: substantives formed with suffixes expressing quality (G. 129, 7).

## CHAPTER IX.

*Biographical Sketch of Cyrus.*

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus is agreed to have been the most worthy to reign of all Persians since Cyrus the Great (1). When a boy he excelled all others (2). The sons of Persian nobles are educated at the King's palace, and early learn to govern and obey (3, 4). Here Cyrus was remarkable for his modesty and obedience, as well as his love of horses and for learning warlike exercises (5). When older, he was fond of the chase (6). While satrap, he was careful to keep his promises (7); and cities, individuals, and even enemies had the greatest confidence in him (8). In his warfare with Tissaphernes all the cities, except Miletus, put themselves under his protection; and the inhabitants of Miletus feared him, because he showed by deeds and words that he would not desert the exiles whom they had banished (9, 10). He was always anxious to outdo those who did him either a kindness or an injury (11). A great number confided to his charge their property, cities, and persons (12). He was unsparing in his punishment of the criminal and unjust (13); but paid honor to warlike talents and bravery (14, 15), and rewarded those who loved justice (16). Foreign generals in his employ found it profitable to serve him well (17), for diligence was never unrewarded (18). Skilful and just managers of his lands were never deprived of their earnings (19). He was successful in attaching friends to himself, and ready to assist them in their own purposes (20, 21). He received and gave many presents, surpassed his friends in kind attentions; and was universally beloved (22–28): in proof of this no one deserted from him to the King (29). His virtues and his quickness in discerning the trustworthy are proved by the fact that, when he died, all his most intimate friends, except Ariaeus, fell fighting in his behalf (30, 31).

Page 30. — 1. μέν: without correlative. — οὕτως: what would ὧδε mean? — ἀνὴρ ὢν, *a man* (G. 137) *who was*, etc. — Περσῶν γενομένων (G. 168): the Persians meant are those of the royal line born (γενομένων) after the time of (μετά, G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b) Cyrus the Great. — βασιλικώτατος: note the suffix *ικo-* (see G. 129, 13). — παρά: with the gen. of the agent in place of ὑπό (G. 197, 1, N. 1). — τῶν δοκούντων γενέσθαι, *those who are reputed to have become* (γενέσθαι, G. 260, 2). — ἐν πείρᾳ Κύρου, i. e. *intimately acquainted with Cyrus*.

2. πρῶτον μέν: correl. to ἐπεὶ δέ in § 6, which marks the second period in his life, and to ἐπεὶ δέ in § 7, which marks the third. — ἔτι παῖς ὢν, *while* (G. 277, 1) *still a boy*. — ἐπαιδεύετο: derivation and suffix? See G. 130, 4.

3. ἐπὶ . . . θύραις: as we say, *at court*. — σωφροσύνην, *self-control*, der. from σώ-φρων (σῶς, σῶος, and φρήν) with the suff. σύνα- (see G. 129, 7). — καταμάθοι ἂν (G. 226, 2 b). — αἰσχροὺς . . . ἔστι (G. 28, N. 1, end): for the construction cf. ἦν ἰδεῖν . . . ἀνθρώπους in § 13, below, and οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν in i. 5. 2. — οὐδὲν οὔτε . . . οὔτε (G. 283, 9).

4. θεῶνται καὶ ἀκούουσι, *they see some* (sc. τινάς) *honored and hear of them* (G. 280). — εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες (G. 277, N. 1), *in their very boyhood*. — μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν, *learn how to rule* (G. 280, N. 3).

5. αἰδημονέστατος: put first for emphasis, displacing μέν: otherwise the order would be πρῶτον μὲν αἰδημονέστατος. — ἐδόκει εἶναι, *had the reputation of being*. — τοῖς τε . . . πείθεσθαι, *and of being more obedient to his elders than (were) even those inferior to himself in rank*. — φιλιππότατος (G. 136, N. 3 a) with ἐδόκει εἶναι, but χρήσθαι with ἐδόκει alone. — ἔκρινον: *they* (i. e. men in general) *judged him*, etc. — ἔργων: with the two super. at the end of the sect. (G. 180, 2). — ἀκοντίσεως: force of the suff. σις? — Give the derivation at length of αἰδήμων, ἡλικιώτης, ὑποδείης, φίλιππος, τοξική, ἀκόντισις, φιλομαθής, and μελετηρός.

6. ἡλικία (G. 184, 2). — μέντοι, *moreover*. So below at the end. — ἐπιφερομένην, *that rushed upon him* (G. 276, 1): ἄρκτος is *epicene* (G. 33, 2, N. 2). — οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, *was not afraid of, did not shrink from*. Cf. τρέω, τρέμω, tremo, tremble. — συμπεσών: the idea is that of *grappling*, not of *falling* to the ground, *with the bear*. — τὰ μέν: cogn. acc. (G. 159, N. 2), *suffered somewhat, received some wounds*. Often a different word takes the place of the article in one part of the correlation ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ (G. 143, 1), as here τέλος δέ (G. 160, 2). — πολλοῖς: dat. of the agent with the verbal adj. μακαριστόν (from μεκαρίζω, μάκαρ).

7. κατεπέμφθη: why κατά? — σατράπης, *as satrap*. See, with ref. to the facts here mentioned, i. 1. 2, and the prefatory note. — στρατηγὸς δέ καί: cf. with ref. to pos. καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ in i. 1. 2. — οἷς: dat. of indir. obj. after καθήκει (G. 184, 2). — πρῶτον μὲν: weakly correlated by δέ in § 11. — ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι, κ. τ. λ., *he showed himself, that he made*, etc., *emphatic attraction*. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων, i. 1. 5. — ὅτι . . . ποιοῖτο, *that he made it of the greatest importance, regarded it most important*; the direct form of the sent. being περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι, ἂν τῷ σπείσωμαι (G. 225) καὶ . . . συνθῶμαι καὶ . . . ὑπόσχωμαί τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι (G. 247). — τῷ: what other form was possible? See G. 84. — σπένδομαι of *making a treaty* (by libations); συντίθεμαι of *entering into an agreement*; ὑπισχνέομαι of *promising* in the common sense.

8. καὶ γάρ, *and (proof is at hand) for*. — σπεισαμένου, temporal. — μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν, in direct form οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιμι (G. 211; 226, 2 b): for the change of neg. see G. 242, 4.

Page 31. — 9. τοιγαροῦν, *therefore*. — ἐκοῦσαι (G. 138, N. 7). — Μιλησίων: we should expect Μιλήτιον. — οὗτοι δέ . . . αὐτόν: a proof, drawn from an enemy, that Cyrus was to be trusted. — προέσθαι, *to abandon* (see προίημι).

10. καὶ γάρ . . . ἔλεγεν, *for he both (καὶ . . . καὶ in correlation) showed repeatedly by what he did, and declared repeatedly, or, more freely, showed*

repeatedly both by word and deed. — προοίτο (G. 127, III., N. 1). — ἀπαξ is once for all; but ποτέ, once on a time (§ 6), some time, ever. — οὐδ' εἰ . . . γένοιτο, not even if they should become still fewer, i. e. should be cut down in numbers by their misfortunes. — ὅτι . . . πράξειαν: in direct form οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίμην, ἐπεὶ . . . ἐγενόμην, οὐδ' εἰ . . . γένοιτο . . . πράξειαν (G. 247, N. 2 and N. 3).

11. φανερός δ' ἦν καὶ πειρώμενος, but it was obvious also that he strove (G. 280, N. 1). — εἰ ποιήσειεν: prot. to πειρώμενος. The fact made evident (i. e. the direct discourse) is ἐάν τις . . . ποιήσῃ, πειρώμαι (G. 225). For the two accusatives after ποιήσειεν, see G. 165. For the parallel construction at the end of the section, see G. 165, N. 1, and cf. § 10. — ἐξέφερον, reported. — ὥς εὐχότο: quoted (G. 243) after εὐχὴν ἐξέφερον, which involves the idea of saying. They said, εὐχεται (i. e. he sometimes prays) ζῆν ἔστ' ἂν νικᾷ (G. 239, 2; 232, 3); the future apod. to ἔστ' ἂν νικᾷ is ζῆν. For the change by quot. of the subj. νικᾷ to the opt., see G. 247. — νικῶν ἀλεξόμενος, should outdo in returning like for like.

12. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: as in § 8. — δῆ: with the superlative, just as μέγιστος δῆ means the very greatest. The phrase ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρί also (ἀνδρί, of course, is grammatically in app. to αὐτῷ) logically modifies the superl.; the number, i. e., was the very greatest in view, at least (γέ), of the fact that it was a single man (ἐνὶ ἀνδρί) that was in question. — τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, of the men of our time, part. gen. with αὐτῷ, but affected also by the superlative πλείστοι, as if it had been said he was trusted most of all the men of our day. For this meaning of ἐπί, see G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b. — προέσθαι, to intrust. Cf. § 9.

13. οὐ μὲν (= μὴν) δὴ οὐδέ, nor yet now in truth. — ἀφειδέστατα πάντων, most unsparingly of all. — ἦν ἰδεῖν, it was possible to see, you might see. — ποδῶν, χειρῶν, ὀφθαλμῶν: why gen.? — μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι, if in no respect (G. 159, N. 2) a wrong-doer (G. 277, 4). — ὃ τι προχωροίη, whatever it was to his advantage (G. 233) to have (sc. ἔχειν). For ἤθελεν (which might have been ἐθέλοι), see G. 233, N. 1.

14. μέντοι, however. — ὠμολόγητο, he had been (and so was) acknowledged, pers. const. (cf. § 20). — ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος: principal sentence where we should expect a dependent one, such as ὄντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ πολέμου; for πρῶτον μὲν, notwithstanding its position, goes with ἀρχοντας ἐποίει and is correlated by ἔπειτα. — καὶ αὐτός, even in person. — ἐθέλοντας: cf. ἐκούσαι in § 9, and note, and ἐθέλοντάς in i. 6. 9, and note. — ἵς κατεστρέφετο χάρας (G. 154, N.).

15. ὥστε . . . εἶναι, so that (in his dominions) the good appeared (G. 266, 1) most prosperous, and the bad were deemed fit to be their slaves: φαίνεσθαι would regularly either stand within the clause with μὲν or else belong to both subjects. — οἶοιτο: for the mood cf. προχωροίη in § 13. — αἰσθήσεσθαι: quoted (G. 260, 2).

16. γὰρ μὴν, certainly at least, adding a case in the general testimony to the high character of Cyrus that could not be controverted; more simply, moreover. — εἰς δικαιοσύνην (see G. 129, 7 and 12): with ἐπιδείκνυσθαι,



to distinguish himself for uprightness. — εἰ γένοιτο, ἐποιεῖτο (G. 225). — βουλόμενος: quoted. Cf. φανερός ἦν πειρώμενος in § 11. — περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο: cf. περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο in § 7. — τούτους: pl. because of the distributive force of τις to which it refers. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου, *by injustice* (G. 139, 2).

Page 32. — 17. δικάως, *with fidelity*. — διεχειρίζετο, *were managed*, lit. *were had in hand*. — καὶ . . . ἐχρήσατο, *and he secured the services of* (G. 200, N. 5 b) *an army worthy of the name, justo exercitu*. — ἔπλευσαν: coming as mercenaries across the sea. — ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν, *because they judged it*, etc. (G. 250). — πειθαρχεῖν (G. 131, 2 a). — τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος is in the same construction as πειθαρχεῖν, the subject of εἶναι, which might have been τὸ πειθ. (G. 259 and N.). For κατὰ μῆνα, *monthly*, see G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c.

18. εἰ τίς γέ τι: one proclitic, three enclitics. The proclitic takes the accent of τις; for the accent of the enclitics, see G. 28, N. 2. — τίς γε, *any one* (emphatically), no matter how insignificant. — τι: with ὑπηρετήσκειν, *did him* (G. 184, 2) *any* (G. 159, N. 2) *good service*. With ὑπηρετήσκειν cf. γένοιτο in § 16, and the ref., and also ὀρώη in § 19. — οὐδενὶ . . . προθυμίαν, *he never let his* (lit. *any one's*, G. 184, 3) *zeal* (see G. 129, 7) *go unrewarded*. — κράτιστοι δῆ: cf. πλείστοι δῆ in § 12, and note. — ὑπηρεταί, *supporters*. — Κύρῳ . . . γενέσθαι, *Cyrus was said to have had*, lit. *were said to have been* (*become*) *to Cyrus* (poss. dat., G. 184, 4).

19. τινὰ ὄντα, *that any one was* (G. 280). So the two participles that follow. — οἰκονόμῳν, *manager*, Eng. *eco-nomist*. Note the derivation. — ἐκ τοῦ δίκαιου, *according to justice*, or we may freely transl. *δεινὸν . . . δικάλου*, *a skilful and just manager*. — ἥς ἄρχοι is part of the conditional relative sentence (= εἰ τινος ἄρχοι) and follows the construction of ὀρώη. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 64, N. 2. — χώρας (G. 154). — οὐδένα ἄν . . . ἀφ-είλετο, *he would never deprive* (G. 206) *him* (lit. *any one*) *of* (*his territory*, sc. *χώραν*, and see G. 164). The ἄν belongs equally to προσεδίδου (G. 212, 4). This form with ἄν, since it expresses a customary action, is a natural apodosis to εἰ ὀρώη. See again G. 225, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 51, Rem. — ἐπέπατο (see *πάομαι*, *to acquire*): cf. the use of the perf. and plup. of κτάομαι. — αὐ, *moreover*. — Κύρον (G. 164). — οὐ φθονῶν ἐφαίνετο ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος, *it was clear that he did not envy, but strove*, etc. (G. 280).

20. φίλους: emphasized by position and the following particles; obj. of θεραπεύειν. — ὅσους ποιήσaiτο (G. 233): the apodosis is θεραπεύειν (not γενέσθαι). This use of the optative, as also the corresponding one in conditional clauses not relative (G. 225), occurs repeatedly in this chapter and should be watched for. — ὄντας: cf. ὄντα in § 19. — ἱκανοὺς συνεργοὺς ὃ τι τυγχάνοι, *competent co-workers in whatever he chanced*, etc. — ὃ τι τυγχάνοι (= εἰ τι τυγχάνοι): see note on ἥς ἄρχοι in § 19. — βουλόμενος: cf. παρών in i. 1. 2, and note. — πρὸς, *by* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 b, end). — κράτιστος δῆ: cf. § 12 and § 18. — γενέσθαι: in the dir. form ἐγένετο (G. 260, 2).

21. αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπὲρ ἔνεκα, κ. τ. λ., *he tried to secure for his friends that very object for which he thought that he needed friends himself*, — viz. *that he might have co-workers*, — *he tried* (*I say*) *also on his own part to be a most*



*vigorous co-worker with his friends*, etc. αὐτὸ τοῦτο would naturally have been the object of some verb like πράττειν after ἐπειράτο, but for this simple αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν the amplified expression συνεργὸς . . . εἶναι . . . ἐπιθυμοῦντα was substituted, to express the same idea more fully. Cf. ἀ . . . καί-ουσιν in iii. 5. 5. — τούτου: emphatic (G. 152). — ὅτου (i. e. οὐτινος, G. 84) is not gen. by assimilation, but gen. independently (G. 171, 2). — ἐπιθυμοῦντα: quoted after αἰσθάνοιτο (G. 280).

22. οἶμαι: by syncope for οἶομαι. The word is here parenthetic, like our *I think*. — εἰς γε ὧν ἀνὴρ: cf. ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ in § 12, and note. — διὰ πολ-λά, *for many reasons*. — δι-εδίδου, *dis-tributed*. — καὶ ὅτου: sc. πρὸς and the indef. antecedent of ὅτου. — δεόμενον: how is the part. to be construed?

23. κόσμον: in app. to ὅσα (G. 137, N. 4). — ἢ . . . ἢ, *either . . . or*. — ὥς εἰς πόλεμον: the ὥς marks the purpose for which the objects were sent (εἰς πόλεμον) as subjectively conceived by the sender. Cf. ὥς εἰς μάχην in i. 8. 1, and ὥς εἰς κυκλωσιν in i. 8. 23. — καλλ-ωπισμόν: der.? — καί, *more-over*, with the following sentence as a whole. — λέγειν: an imperfect infinitive with ἔφασαν (G. 203, N. 1): they said ἔλεγε, *he used to say*. Cf. ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι in § 18. — δύναιτο (G. 245); νομίζοι (G. 243). Cyrus said οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην . . . φίλους δὲ . . . νομίζω.

24. καὶ τὸ μὲν . . . ποιοῦντα, *and his surpassing* (G. 259, N.) *his friends in conferring great (with emphasis) benefits*, etc. τὰ μεγάλα is cognate acc. with εὖ ποιοῦντα, *benefiting* (G. 159, N. 2). — ἐπιμελεία: dative of respect (G. 188, 1, N. 1). — φίλων (G. 175, 2).

Page 33. — τῷ προθυμείσθαι: parallel in construction to τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ (G. 262, 2). — ταῦτα takes up τὸ περιεῖναι, κ. τ. λ.

25. οἴνου (G. 167, 4). — ἡμι-δεεῖς (δέω, *to want*). — οὕτω δὴ πολλοῦ χρό-νου, *not for a long time* (G. 179, 1), lit. *not as yet now within a long time*. — ὅτι . . . ἐπιτύχοι represents ἐπέτυχον, κ. τ. λ., in the words of Cyrus (G. 243); but the next sentence gives the *actual* words of the messenger, who in delivering the gift would say: Κύρος οὕτω δὴ πολλοῦ . . . ἐπέτυχεν τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. the last half of § 26, τούτοις ἦσθη Κύ-ρος· βούλεται, κ. τ. λ. — ἐκπίνειν, *to drink it up* (lit. *out*): cf. Germ. *aus-trinken*. — σὺν οἷς (G. 153, N. 1).

26. ἡμιβρώτους: der.? — ἡμίσεα, *halves* (G. 139, 1). — ἐπι-λέγειν, *to say in addition* (to presenting the gifts), *to add*. — τούτων γεύσασθαι, *to take a taste of* (note the force of the aorist) *these* (G. 171, 2).

27. ἐδύνατο: there is some MS. authority for δύναιτο. See G. 233, N. 1, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 62, N. 1. — δια-πέμπων: force of διὰ? — ὥς μὴ ἄγωσιν: subj. of purpose after a secondary tense (G. 216, 2). The student will note that a clause of *negative* purpose can be introd. either by the simple μὴ, or by μὴ preceded by ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, the meaning in both cases being simply *that not, lest*. Cf. the examples under G. 216, 1.

28. πλείστοι, *very many*. — μέλλοιεν ὀψέσθαι: see i. 8. 1, and note. — ἐσπουδαίω-λογεῖτο, *he engaged in earnest conversation (with them)*, a denom. verb (G. 130, 2) der. from σπουδαῖος and λέγω, and σπουδαῖος from σπουδή, σπεύδω (G. 129, 12). — ὥς δηλοῖ οὕς τιμᾷ (τιμᾷ indic.), *that he might show*

(G. 216, 1) *whom he honored* (G. 248, N., end). The purpose in his own mind was, ὡς δηλῶ (subj.) οὕς τιμῶ (indic.). — ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, *from what I hear*: cf. ἀκούει in i. 3. 20, and note. — Ἑλλήνων, βαρβάρων: with οὐδένα.

29. τούτου, τόδε: diff. of use? — δούλου ὄντος, *though he was a slave*. Cf. i. 7. 3. — πλὴν: conj. Cf. i. 8. 25. — καὶ οὗτος . . . εὖρε: the order is, καὶ οὗτος δὴ ταχὺ εὖρε αὐτὸν ὃν ᾤετο, κ. τ. λ. Cf. i. 6. 3. For οἱ, see G. 144, 2. — φιλαίτερον: for the more common φίλτερον (G. 73, 1, 10). — ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: the King. — ἀγαπῶμενοι: ἀγαπάω is properly to show by outward signs that one regards; φιλέω (§ 28, end), on the other hand, is used of the love of friends. — τυγχάνειν ἄν is quoted after νομίζοντες (G. 246): the protasis lies in ὄντες = εἰ εἴσαν (G. 226, 1).

30. τὸ αὐτῷ γεγόμενον, *what happened to him*, sc. ἐστί: τεκμήριον is pred. — τοὺς . . . βεβαίους: the article is expressed but once, because the writer is speaking of a single class of persons possessing all the qualities mentioned, *those who were faithful, well-disposed, and constant*.

31. συν-τράπεζοι: cf. ὁμοτράπεζοι in i. 8. 25. — ὑπέρ, *over, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 ὅ). — τεταγμένος: what use of the part.? Explain the use also of πεπτωκότα in the next line.

## CHAPTER X.

SYNOPSIS: The head and right hand of Cyrus are cut off; the King falls upon his camp, and the troops of Ariaeus flee (1). The camp is pillaged, except where a few of the Greeks, who have been left on guard, make a successful stand (2, 3). Both armies proceed as if victorious, the Greeks pursuing, the Persians plundering (4); but when they discover one another's movements, the King collects his forces, and Clearchus consults with Proxenus (5). The King is seen approaching; but instead of making an attack upon the rear of the Greek army, as is expected, he leads off his troops to the left (6), joined by Tissaphernes, who has charged through the Greek lines (7, 8). The Greeks fall back upon the river (9). The King draws up his troops opposite, but is again put to flight (10, 11). His cavalry rally upon a hill, but on the approach of the Greeks abandon this also (12, 13). Clearchus sends a scout upon the hill to report their movements (14), who brings back word that they are flying at the top of their speed (15). The Greeks abandon the pursuit, and wonder at the absence of Cyrus (16). They resolve to return to their camp (17); but finding this plundered, they encamp supperless for the night (18, 19).

Page 34. — 1. The narrative is resumed from Chap. viii. — ἀποτέμενεται . . . δεξιᾶ: a Persian custom. In iii. 1. 17 it is stated that the head and hand of Cyrus were exposed to view fixed on a stake. — ἀποτέμενεται, διώκων, εἰσπίπτει: note and explain the number and agreement of these words. — Κύρειον: an adj. in place of the more common poss. gen. Κύρου. — στρατόπεδον: merely the place where they had halted in the hurry of the unexpected engagement (i. 8. 1 sq.). — οἱ μετὰ Ἀριαίου, *Ariaeus and those with him*, like the phrase οἱ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην, iii. 5. 1: μετὰ Ἀριαίου implies *participation* (G. 191, VI. 3, 1), but σὺν αὐτῷ above implies *accompani-*

*paniment* (G. 191, II. 2).—*ἔνθεν ὥρμηντο*: on the morning of the battle. It will be remembered that the battle was fought on the afternoon of the third day (i. 7. 20) after the midnight review mentioned in i. 7. 1, and that this review was held on the night after the third day's march from Pylae. Cf. note on *ἐντεύθεν*, i. 7. 1.—*τέτταρες . . . ὁδοῦ*, and the distance was said to be four parasangs, lit. there were said to be four parasangs of the road.

2. *πολλά*: pred., to a great amount.—*τὴν Φωκαίδα . . . εἶναι*, the Phocæan woman, the concubine (G. 137) of Cyrus, who was said (*τὴν . . . λεγομένην* = *ἡ . . . ἐλέγετο*: G. 276, 2; 137) to be, etc. Athenæus says that she was first named Milto, and afterwards Aspasia. Phocæa was a city of Ionia. See the map.—*λαμβάνει*: with *βασιλεύς*, above.

3. *ἡ νεωτέρα*, the younger (of the two).—*γυμνή*, lightly clad, without her mantle.—*τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: sc. *τινάς* (a rare omission).—*ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις* (neut.), i. e. among the baggage.—*ὄπλα ἔχοντες*, under arms, standing guard (G. 279, 4).—*καὶ ἀντιταχέντες* (sc. *οὔτοι*).—*οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν*, and some also of their own number: *οἱ δέ* is correl. to *πολλοὺς μὲν*. Cf. note on *τὰ μὲν* in i. 9. 6.—*ἐντὸς αὐτῶν*, within their lines.—*ἐγένοντο*: plural from the influence of *ἄνθρωποι*.

4. *ἀλλήλων*: why gen.?—*οἱ Ἕλληνες*: the main body.—*οἱ μὲν*: referring chiastically (see note on *ἀναβαίνει . . . ἀνέβη* in i. 1. 2) to *οἱ Ἕλληνες*.—*ὡς πάντας νικῶντες*, thinking that they were victorious over all (G. 277, N. 2), but below, *ὡς . . . νικῶντες*, thinking that now they were all victorious.

5. This entire section consists of four clauses arranged chiastically, 1) referring chiefly to the Greeks, 2) chiefly to the King, 3) to the King, and 4) again to the Greeks.—*εἴη*: why opt.?—*Τισσαφέρνους*: stationed at the King's extreme left (i. 8. 9), he had charged through the right of the Greeks and joined the King in the camp of Cyrus in the rear (§ 7).—*νικῶν, οἷχονται*: one verb changed to the opt. by quot., the other not; for which see *Moods and Tenses*, § 70, 2, Rem. 1, end. Cf. also G. 247, N. 1.—*πλησιαίτατος*: comparative how formed? (G. 71, N. 2).—*πέμποιεν, ἵοιεν*: in the direct questions, *πέμπωμεν, ἵωμεν*; (G. 256; 244). For *εἰ . . . ἦ*, introducing the double indirect question, see G. 282, 5.

6. *δῆλος ἦν προσιών*: cf. *δῆλος ἦν ἀνιόμενος* in i. 2. 11, and note.—*ὡς ἐδόκει ὀπισθεν*, i. e. apparently from their rear.—*στραφέντες*, facing about. It will be remembered that the two forces were somewhat more than three miles apart (§ 4).—*παρεσκευάζοντο . . . δεξόμενοι*, prepared themselves with a view to his advancing in this way (i. e. *ὀπισθεν*) and to their receiving (him so): *ὡς* (G. 277, N. 2) belongs not only to *δεξόμενοι* (part. of purpose), but also to *προσιόντος* (part. of cause). *προσιόντος* (sc. *αὐτοῦ*) is the genitive abs.; *δεξόμενοι* modifies *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. See, further, *Moods and Tenses*, § 111.—*ἥ δὲ παρήλθεν, κ. τ. λ.*: cf. i. 8. 23. The aor. is a pluperfect in force. Cf. i. 1. 2.—*ἀπήγαγεν*, marched back.

Page 35.—7. *διήλασε . . . πελταστάς*, charged along (*παρά*) the river into (*κατά*) the Greek peltasts and through them.—*διελαύνων δέ*, and as he drove through them. For the force stationed at the extreme right of Cyrus when the battle began, see i. 8. 5.—*ἔπαιον*: probably with their swords.



— αὐτούς: the cavalry of Tissaphernes. — Ἀμφιπολίτης, of *Amphipolis*, an important Greek city on the Strymon in Thrace. — ἐλέγετο . . . γενέσθαι, *was said to have proved himself* (G. 260, 2) *sagacious* (to have shown his wisdom) by pursuing this course of tactics.

8. οὖν, at any rate. Cf. i. 2. 12. — ὥς . . . ἀπηλλάγη, after he had come off (note the force of the tense) with the worst of it, lit. having less. — τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (G. 142, 2). — ὅμου πάλιν ἐπορεύοντο, *proceeded back together*.

9. τὸ εὐώνυμον: the historian has the position of the Greeks when the battle began in mind, their right then resting on the river. They had now faced about (στραφέντες, § 6). — μὴ προσάγοιεν, κατακόψειαν: why opt.? — ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας: lit. to fold back the wing. The object was to bring their line parallel to the river. At present they are at right angles to it. For the const. of ἐδόκει ἀναπτύσσειν, cf. i. 3. 11, and note, and with ἀναπτύσσειν, to fold back, cf. περιπτύσσειν, to fold about, enfold, above.

10. ἐβουλεύοντο: before the Greeks had even begun to change their position, while they were as yet simply planning it, the King was already executing relatively the same manœuvre, with the intention of presenting his front to the river. This shows that the apprehension of the Greeks, mentioned in § 9, ἔδεισαν . . . κατακόψειαν, was well grounded. It is not implied by ἐβουλεύοντο that the Greeks did not subsequently effect their change of position. — καὶ δὴ . . . συνήει, the King in truth also, changing his line of battle to the same form (i. e. τοῖς Ἑλλησιν), stationed it opposite, just as at first he had met them for battle. — ὄντας, παρατεταγμένους: what use of the participles? — αὐθις: see the description of the first charge of the Greeks in i. 8. 17 sq. — τὸ πρόσθεν: adverbial accusative (G. 160, 2). Cf. τὸ πρῶτον, above.

11. ἐκ πλείονος, when at a greater distance from them. — ἐπ-εδίωκον: note the force of the preposition. — κώμης τινός: possibly *Cunaxa* (Κούναξα), the village near which, as Plutarch says, the battle was fought.

12. ἀνεστράφησαν, rallied. — περὶ (without article), predicate, sc. ὄντες. The const. changes at τῶν δὲ ἱππέων, where we should expect ἱππεῖς δὲ, ὧν ὁ λόφος, κ. τ. λ. — τῶν . . . ἐνεπλήσθη: the passive of the construction explained in G. 172, 2. — τὸ ποιοῦμενον: τὸ γιγνόμενον is more common in this sense. — μὴ γινώσκειν: sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — ἀετόν . . . ἀνατεταμένον, (probably) a kind of (τινά) golden eagle, with wings extended, perched on a bar of wood (and raised) upon a lance. πέλτη, which commonly means a shield or target, is also used for δόρυ or λόγχη; and ἐπὶ ξύλου may refer to a horizontal piece of wood on which the eagle was perched. So ἐπὶ ξύλου καθεύδεις, roost like a fowl, Aristoph. *Nub.* 1431. The ξύλον with the eagle was then raised on the point of a lance (ἐπὶ πέλτῃ). In the *Cyrop.* vii. 1. 4, the Persian standard is called ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένους. Curtius, iii. 3. 16, calls it auream aquilam pinnae extendenti similem.

13. ἐνταῦθα: for ἐνταυθοῖ, just as we use *here* or *there* in the sense of *hither* or *thither*. — ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν, some from one part (of the hill), others



from another, or, as we should say, some in one direction, others in another. — τῶν ἱππέων: with ἐψιλοῦτο, was cleared of the horsemen. Cf. τῶν ἱππέων ἐνεπλήσθη in § 12. — τέλος: cf. i. 9. 6.

14. ὑπ' αὐτόν, at the foot of it. — κατ-ιδόντας: note the preposition.

Page 36. — τί ἐστίν: in what other mood might the verb have been? What case of the same sort is there in the next section?

15. σχεδόν . . . ἦν, i. e. and about this time.

16. θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα: see note on i. 5. 14. — φαίνοιτο, παρείη: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — τεθνηκότα: cf. πεπτωκότα in i. 8. 28. — διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι, had gone (G. 246) in pursuit (G. 279, 4, N.). — καταληψόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι, had pushed on (give the direct form) to take possession of (G. 277, 3) something.

17. εἰ ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν: cf. εἰ πέμποιεν ἢ ἵοιεν in § 5, and note. — δορπηστόν, supper-time (although they went supperless, § 19): derived from δόρπον, which in Homer is the common name for the afternoon or evening meal, Lat. coena, the chief meal of the day. In the primitive Homeric times there were two regular meals, ἄριστον, an early meal, breakfast, and δόρπον, a late meal, supper. Either could be called δεῖπνον, which in Attic Greek meant the chief meal of the day, and as this came late in the afternoon, δεῖπνον took the place of the older name δόρπον. Cf. ἄ-δειπνοὶ in § 19. The Attic ἄριστον was a midday meal, lunch, or dinner.

18. διηρπασμένα (G. 279, 1). — εἴ τι . . . ἦν, whatever there was to eat or drink (ποτόν, verbal adjective from πίνω). — μεστάς: predicate adjective, sc. οὔσας, (that had been) full (G. 204, N. 1). — τὰς ἀμάξας and the τοῦτο that is to be understood as the antecedent of the clause εἴ τι . . . ἦν are, along with τὰ πλείστα, objects of καταλαμβάνουσι. — εἰ λάβοι (G. 248, N.). — ἄμαξαι: predicate to ἦσαν, αὐταὶ being the subject. — καὶ ταύτας . . . διήρπασαν: this is partly a repetition of what has already been expressed in διηρπασμένα. — τότε: see § 2.

19. ἄδειπνοὶ ἦσαν· ἦσαν ἀνάριστοι: what is such an arrangement of the parts of a sentence called? Note also the case that follows, καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Cf., concerning the fact stated in πρὶν γὰρ . . . ἐφάνη, i. 8. 1, and note. — μέν: correlative to δέ in ii. 1. 2.

## BOOK SECOND.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING. — CONCLUSION OF A TREATY. — BEGINNING OF THE MARCH HOMEWARD. — TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE FIVE GENERALS. — THEIR CHARACTERS.

### CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: The preceding Book is reviewed in outline (1). At daybreak the generals meet and express surprise that Cyrus neither appears himself nor sends

them orders. They resolve to march forward and meet him (2); but just at sunrise messengers bring word that he is dead, and that Ariaeus proposes to set out on the next day for Ionia (3). The Greeks are afflicted at the death of Cyrus, but, accepting the facts, send word to Ariaeus that they will make him king (4). Chirisōphus and Menon go back with the messengers (5). Clearchus awaits their return, and the troops slaughter the beasts of burden for food (6). Heralds arrive from the King (7), who announce that he commands the Greeks to give up their arms and sue at his gates for favor (8). Clearchus, replying briefly, leaves the rest to answer while he returns to conclude a sacrifice (9). Various replies are made, some threatening, others conciliatory (10-14). Clearchus returns and shrewdly asks the advice of Phalīnus, one of the heralds and himself a Greek, hoping that he will advise them not to surrender (15-18). But he replies that they have no chance for life except from the King's mercy (19). Clearchus contemptuously replies that they will keep their arms (20). Phalīnus then informs them that the King will consider that a truce exists between himself and them, as long as they remain where they are; but otherwise, war (21). Clearchus bids him report that this is a satisfactory arrangement (22), but refuses to give any intimation of his intentions (23).

1. The first section of Book II., and the similar introductions prefixed to most of the following books, are generally supposed to be the work of an editor who divided the *Anabasis* into books. — *ὥς . . . ἐστρατεύετο*: the first of five indirect questions, subjects of *δεδήλωται*. — *οὖν*: to introduce the recapitulation. — *Κύρῳ*: dative of advantage (G. 184, 3), not of the agent. — *ἐκοιμήθησαν*: *κοιμάω*, to put to sleep, is akin to *κείμαι*. — *τὰ πάντα*, at all points (G. 160, 2). Why is the subject of *νικᾶν* omitted? (G. 134, 3). — *νικᾶν*: their thought was, *νικῶμεν*, we have conquered (are victorious), a pres. with an approach to the signif. of the perf. (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, N. 4). — *ἐμπροσθεν* (G. 141, N. 3). — *λόγῳ*, narrative, i. e. in Book I.

2. *ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*: cf. i. 7. 2, and reference. For *δέ*, see note on *μέν* in i. 10. 19: the editor above-mentioned (note on § 1) probably used the *μέν* at the beginning of § 1 without noticing the preceding sentence.

Page 37. — *ὅτι πέμποι, φαίνονται*: cf. the opt. in i. 10. 16, and note. — *σημανοῦντα*: what does the part. express? — *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν*: cf. i. 10. 5. — *ἕως συμμείξαν*: optative in a dependent clause by quotation (G. 248, 3). What other mood might we have had, and why? What would then be added to *ἕως*?

3. *ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων*, when they (sc. *αὐτῶν* and cf. i. 2. 17) were on the point of starting. — *ἡλίῳ*: the names of the heavenly bodies, like proper names, may omit the article. Cf. *ἥλιος* in i. 10. 15. — *Προκλής*: of the third dec. (G. 52, 2, N. 3). — *Τευθρανίας*: a town and district in Mysia. — *γεγονώς*, descended from. — *Δαμαράτου*, *Damarātus*, a Spartan king, deposed in 491 B. C., who settled in southwestern Mysia. See a dict. of biography. — *Γλοῦς*: mentioned in i. 4. 16. He had now gone over to Artaxerxes. For *Tamos* see i. 2. 21, and note. — *τέθνηκεν* might have been *τεθνήκοι* (G. 243): cf. the optatives that follow, *εἴη, λέγοι, φαίη*. — *σταθμῶ*: cf. i. 10. 1. —

ὄθεν = ἐξ οὗ. — ἡμέραν (G. 161). — περιμένειεν ἂν . . . μέλλοιεν: in the dir. form (G. 247), περιμένειναι ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἥκειν (G. 227, 1). — τῇ ἄλλῃ, *on the next day*. — ἀπιέναι (G. 200, N. 3b) φαίη: cf. with λέγει ὅτι, κ. τ. λ., above, and see G. 260, N. 1. — ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, *in the direction of Ionia* (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 a).

4. ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι: chiasitic. — Ἀλλά: often begins a speech opposed to one that precedes. Cf. i. 7. 6. — ὥφελε . . . ζῆν, *would that Cyrus were living* (G. 251, 2, N. 1). How else might the thought have been expressed? — νικῶμεν: cf. the note on § 1, and cf. also § 8, § 9, and § 11. — εἰ μὴ ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν: the prot. referring to the past, the apod. to the present (G. 222). — καθιέν, see καθίζω (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — τῶν νικῶντων: predicate genitive of possession (G. 169, 1). — τὸ ἄρχειν: subject infinitive with the art. (G. 259, N.).

5. ταῦτα: why did the Greeks use the plural, and why do we translate by the singular? — τοὺς ἀγγέλους: Procles and Glus, § 3. — καὶ γάρ: cf. i. 1. 6, and note.

6. οἱ μὲν: asyndeton. See note on i. 2. 4, and cf. i. 2. 25. — ὅπως, *as*, = ὡς. — ξύλοις, *for fuel* (G. 137, N. 4). — μικρὸν . . . οὐ, *going forward a short distance* (G. 161) *from the main body, to where*, etc. — οἰστοῖς, *arrows*, derived from the root that appears in οἶσω, the future of φέρω. Lit. then οἰστός is *that which is borne or shot*. — ἠνάγκαζον: *had compelled*: cf. ἐπόλῃσε in i. 1. 2, with note, and ἐπολιόρκει, συνεπολέμει in i. 4. 2. — τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας: cf. i. 10. 6. — φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι, *left to be carried away*, i. e. for fuel (G. 265). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 97, N. 1, end. — κρέα: object of both participle and verb.

Page 38. — 7. καὶ ἤδη . . . ἀγοράν: cf. i. 8. 1, and note. — οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι: in apposition to κήρυκες. We should expect εἰς δ' αὐτῶν Φαλίνας Ἕλληνα to follow. — βάρβαροι: predicate to ὄντες to be supplied. — ἐντίμως ἔχων, *to be in honor*. Cf. note on εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν, i. 1. 5. — ἐπιστήμων: derivation? — τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις = τῶν τακτικῶν. For the case, see G. 182, 1. — ὅπλο-μαχίαν, *the art of fighting in heavy armor* (G. 131, 1).

8. ὅτι . . . ἀγαθόν: what changes of mood are possible in this sentence? (G. 247): λέγουσιν has the force of an historical tense (G. 201, Rem.). — νικῶν: what use of the part.? Cf. also note on νικᾶν in § 1. — παραδόντας: for the relation of this part. to the following ἰόντας εὐρίσκεισθαι, cf. note on ὑπολαβόν in i. 1. 7. — εὐρίσκεισθαι . . . ἀγαθόν, *to seek to get whatever* (lit. *if any*) *favor they could* (G. 223).

9. βαρέως, *with anger*. — ὄμως: Clearchus, though himself angry, nevertheless, etc. — εἷη: why opt.? — ἔφη, *continued he*. — δ τι: cogn. acc. to ἀποκρίνασθαι to be supplied with ἔχετε. — ἥξω, *will return*. Cf., as to meaning, ἐλθόντες in § 1. — ὅπως . . . ἐξηρημένα, *that he might see the entrenchments (after they had been) taken out*. — θυόμενος: why middle?

10. πρόσθεν ἢ παραδοίεν: πρόσθεν ἢ (where πρὶν might have been used) with the opt. (G. 240, with N.; 232, 4). There is no change of mood in quoting what Cleānor said (G. 245; 247, N. 3). — θαυμάζω, *should like to know*. — πότῃ . . . ἢ: double indirect question (G. 282, 5). — ὡς κρατῶν:



force of *ὥς*? — *ἢ ὥς . . . δῶρα*, or *as gifts* (G. 137, N. 4) *on the alleged (ὥς) ground of friendship*, as if he had said *ὥς φίλος ὢν*. — *τί . . . ἐλθόντα*, *why should he ask for them and (why should he) not (οὐ, not μή) come and take them?* — *πείσας*, *by persuasion*, opp. to *ὥς κρατῶν*. — *τί ἔσται . . . χαρίζονται*: cf. i. 7. 8, *τί . . . κρατήσωσιν*.

11. *πρὸς ταῦτα*, *in reply to this*. — *αὐτῷ*: with *ἀντιποιεῖται* (G. 186, N. 1). — *ἔστιν*: why accented? — *ἀρχῆς*: causal genitive (G. 173, 1, N. 2). — *ἑαυτοῦ*: pred. gen. of poss. (G. 169, 1). — *μέσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ*: cf. *μέσου τοῦ παραδείσου* in i. 2. 7, and note. — *οὐδέ*: the *οὐ* goes with *δύναισθε ἂν*, the *δέ* (even) with *εἰ . . . ὑμῖν*. — *παρέχοι*: sc. *ἀποκτείνειν*.

12. *εἰ μή*, *except*, after a neg. Cf. i. 4. 18; i. 5. 6. — *ἔχοντες* = *εἰ ἔχοιμεν* (G. 226, 1). — *ἂν*: with *χρῆσθαι* (G. 246). So the *ἂν* that follows belongs to *στερηθῆναι*, and *παραδόντες* = *εἰ παραδοίμεν*.

Page 39. — *μή*: the neg. with the imperative is always *μή* (G. 283, 2). — *παραδώσειν*: sc. *ἡμᾶς* as subject, which would have been expressed if *ἡμῖν* had not preceded.

13. *Ἀλλὰ . . . ἀχάριστα*: ironical. On *Ἀλλά*, see § 4. When Phalinus calls him a “philosopher,” he means to stigmatize his remarks about *ἀρετή* and *ἀγαθά* as unpractical. The literal meaning of *φιλό-σοφος*? — *ὢν*, *that you are* (G. 280). — *περιγενέσθαι ἂν*, *could* (under any circumstances) *prove superior* (G. 246; 226, 2 b). — *δυνάμεως*: case (G. 175, 2).

14. *ἔφασαν*: Xenophon writes as if he had not himself been present. — *λέγειν*: cf. *λέγειν* in i. 9. 23, and note. — *ὑπο-μαλακίζομένους*, *losing courage somewhat* (*ὑπό*). The underlying word is *μαλακός*, *soft*. For *ὑπό*, see G. 191, VI. 7, end. — *τι* (G. 188, 1, N. 2): cf. i. 3. 18, and note. — *συγκαταστρέφαιντ' ἂν*: serving loosely as an apodosis to the first protasis also, *εἴτε θέλοι*, but belonging more fitly to the second.

15. *εἰ*, *whether* (G. 282, 4). — *ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν*: periphrastic perfect (G. 118, 1). Why opt.? — *Οὔτοι*: in partitive appos. to the phrase *ἄλλος ἄλλα* (G. 137, N. 2). — *ἄλλος ἄλλα*, *some one thing, others another*, lit. *another other things*. Cf. *ἄλλοι ἄλλως* in i. 6. 11, and *ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν* in i. 10. 13, and the notes. — *λέγεις*, *mean, intend*.

16. The sparring that follows to the end of the chapter shows much Greek humor. — *ἄσμενος* (G. 138, N. 7). — *οἶμαι . . . πάντες*, *and all the rest also, I think*. *οἶμαι* is parenthetic and does not affect the construction. — *ἡμεῖς*: sc. *Ἕλληνές ἐσμεν*. — *πράγμασι*: cf. i. 1. 11.

17. *ὃ τι*: the antecedent of this word is a cogn. acc. to *συμβούλευσον*, *give us whatever advice*, etc. — *ἔπειτα*: to be how construed? — *λεγόμενον* (by conjecture for *ἀναλεγόμενον*), *ὅτι Φαλίνος, κ. τ. λ.*: *when reported as follows*, viz. “*Phalínus once*,” etc. (G. 241, 2, Note). — *συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν*: why a difference in voice? The same distinction above. — *τάδε*, *the following advice* (G. 148, N. 1), would be followed by the actual advice, if the report should ever be made in Greece. What sort of an accusative is *τάδε*? — *ὅτι ἀνάγκη* (sc. *ἐστί*), *that it is inevitable*.

18. *ὑπ-ήγετο*, *craftily* (*ὑπό*) *suggested this*. — *εὐελπίδες*: declined like *ἐλπίς* (G. 66, N. 3). — *ὑπο-στρέφας*, *turning adroitly, avoiding the trap*. — *παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*, *contrary to what he had expected* (G. 191, VI. 4, 3 d).



19. εἰ . . . ἔστι, *if you have one chance in ten thousand* (G. 77, 2, N. 32). — σωθῆναι: limits ἐλπίς, to be supplied with μία τις (G. 261, 1). In the second line below, the noun σωτηρίας is used in the same sense. — ἄκοντος: used almost like a *participle*. Cf. i. 3. 17, and note.

Page 40. — 20. πρὸς ταῦτα: cf. § 11. — Ἀλλά: cf. § 4, and note. — ταῦτα: cf. with τάδε in the next line (G. 148, N. 1). Cf. also § 21, beginning. — ἡμεῖς: emphatic, opposing what *the Greeks* thought to what *the King* had demanded (§ 8). — εἶναι: sc. ἡμᾶς as subj. — πλείονος (G. 178, N.). — ἔχοντες: a second protasis (G. 226, 1) to ἂν εἶναι, which is quoted (G. 246): see note on ἔχοντες and παραδόντες in § 12.

21. αὐτοῦ: adv. — ὅτι . . . εἴσαν, *that there was* (not *would be*) a truce, etc., the direct form being μένουσι (partic., sc. ὑμῖν, = ἦν μένητε) σπονδαὶ εἰσιν, *there is a truce for you* (i. e. *for you to depend on*), *if you remain* (G. 223). See § 22, Ἦν μένωμεν. Cf. below, σπονδαὶ εἰσιν after μενεῖτε. — εἵπατε: imperative of the *first aor.* εἶπα, not of the *second aor.* εἶπον. See the lexicon, and the Appendix to G., s. v. εἶπον. — πότερα . . . ἤ: cf. § 10. — ὥς . . . ἀγγελῶ, *shall I announce from you that there is war?* lit. *assuming that there is war, shall I announce it from you?* (G. 280, N. 4, ex.).

22. ταῦτά: not ταῦτα. — ἅπερ: sc. δοκεῖ. — ἀπεκρίνατο: note the asyn-deton. — σπονδαὶ: sc. εἰσιν (see note on § 21).

23. ὅ τι ποιήσοι (indirect quest.): the fut. opt. is never used except as the representative of the fut. indicative in indirect discourse (G. 203, N. 3).

## CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: Phalinus departs; and Chirisophus and a messenger return from Ariaeus, who refuses to be made king, and again tells the Greeks that he shall set out early next morning (1). Clearchus declines to say whether they will join him or not (2). At sunset he tells the generals and captains that the sacrifices were extremely favorable for joining Ariaeus (3), and gives directions how they shall proceed (4). From this time on, Clearchus assumes virtual command (5). Computation of distances (6). Miltocŷthes deserts to the King (7). The Greeks join Ariaeus about midnight, and give and receive pledges of good faith (8, 9). Ariaeus shows that it will not do for them to return as they came (10, 11), and adds that at first they must make their marches as long as possible (12). At daybreak they begin their march northward (13). In the afternoon they think they see the enemy's cavalry (14); but scouts bring back word that what they see are only beasts of burden, and it is concluded that the King is encamping near by (15). Clearchus nevertheless advances straight on, and encamps in certain villages (16). In the darkness and confusion the Greeks make much noise and frighten the enemy (17), of whom, on the next day, no traces are to be seen (18). During the night the Greeks also suffer a panic (19). Clearchus by a stratagem succeeds in quieting them, and at daybreak they again fall into line (20, 21).

1. αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀριαίφ: cf. αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ in iv. 3. 28. Glus also remained: cf. ii. 1. 3, 5. — ἔλεγον, φάλη: the first takes a clause with

δι, the second the inf. (G. 260, N. 1). — *βελτίους*, of higher rank. — οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι: for οἱ οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο, a rel. clause with the inf. by assimilation (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος: pred. part. after a verb of enduring (G. 279, 1). For the case see G. 171, 2. Cf. further *Moods and Tenses*, § 112, 2, N. 2. — ἀλλ' εἰ, κ. τ. λ.: a change to the direct discourse. — ἤδη, immediately. — εἰ δὲ μή, otherwise, i. e. if you do not come, = ἂν δὲ μὴ ἤκητε. See § 2. In such alternatives, εἰ δὲ μή is regularly used in the second clause, even when a subjunctive or an affirmative verb would be required if the ellipsis were supplied. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 52, 1, N. 2. — αὐτός (G. 138, N. 8), himself, adj. pron. emphasizing the omitted subj. of ἀπιέναι, which is fut. in force (G. 200, N. 3 b).

2. οὕτω: with ref. to what follows as well as to what precedes. — χρη ποιεῖν: sc. ἡμᾶς, referring to both Greeks and barbarians. — ὥσπερ λέγετε: understand before this χρη ἡμᾶς ἦκειν τῆς νυκτός. — εἰ δὲ μή: see note on εἰ δὲ μή in § 1. — πράττετε is more animated than χρη ὑμᾶς πράττειν would have been. — ὅποιόν τι: τι adds to the indefiniteness of ὅποιον, whatsoever. — οὐδέ, i. e. not even to the friendly barbarians, just as before he had sent Phalinus off without satisfying him (ii. 1. 23, end).

3. ἵνα: purpose (G. 265). Construe with οὐκ ἐγένετο, did not result (favorably) for going. This phrase is interpreted by καλὰ ἦν at the end of the section. — ἄρα, as it seems. — ἐν μέσῳ, between. Cf. i. 7. 6, and note. — ναυσί-πορος (G. 131, 1, N.).

Page 41. — οὐ μὲν δή, nor yet indeed. — γέ: force? — οἷόν τε: sc. ἐστίν, is it possible (G. 151, N. 4<sup>2</sup>). — ἔστιν: accent?

4. δειπνεῖν: explanatory of ὧδε ποιεῖν. The infinitive const. changes to the imperative in συσκευάζεσθε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. πράττετε in § 2, and note. — σημήνη: cf. ἐσάλπιγξε in i. 2. 17, and note. — ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι (with σημήνη), shall give the signal for going to rest (G. 266, N. 1). — τὸ δεύτερον: cogn. acc. to σημήνη to be supplied. — ἀνατίθεσθε: mid. (G. 199, 3). — ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, at the third signal. — τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, the van (neut.) = τοῖς ἡγουμένοις. — πρὸς, towards: note that the genitive follows (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — τὰ ὅπλα = τοὺς ὀπλίτας. Cf. ἀσπίς in i. 7. 10.

5. τὸ λοιπόν: adv. (G. 160, 2). — δεῖ: sc. φρονεῖν.

6. This entire section is thought by many to be an interpolation. — ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ, amount of the way, distance. — τῆς Ἰωνίας, in Ionia (G. 167, 6). — μάχης, scene of the battle, battle-field. So below. — ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, there were said to be, it was said that there were.

7. ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, when it became dark (G. 134, N. 1 c). Cf. ἡμέρα ἐγένετο in § 13, and ὅψε ἦν in § 16. — εἰς, ὥς: cf. note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

8. τοῖς ἄλλοις: dative (G. 184, 3) after ἡγεῖτο in place of the genitive (G. 171, 3). — κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, in accordance with his previous instructions. For these see § 4. — παρὰ Ἀριαίων: why acc.? — μέσας νύκτας: cf. note on i. 7. 1. — ἐν . . . ὅπλα, halting under arms in line of battle. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. — θέμενοι modifies the following nominatives, the officers being said to halt when they order their men to do so. — οἱ κράτιστοι, the highest in rank. Cf. βελτίους in § 1. — μήτε . . . τέ, not only not

. . . *but also* : the correlatives are merely τε . . . τε. — προδώσειν, ἔσεσθαι, ἡγήσεσθαι : quoted (G. 202, 3 a). — προσ-ώμοσαν, *swore besides* (G. 191, VI. 6, end).

9. εἰς ἀσπίδα, i. e. the blood was caught in the hollow of a shield. — οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ βάρβαροι : subjects of ὤμοσαν.

10. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, *but when the pledges had been given* (aor. with force of plup.); with the pledge here given (an oath and offering) cf. ii. 3. 28, where the pledge is an oath and the giving and taking of the right hand, and iv. 8. 7, where it is an oath and the exchange of spears.

Page 42. — πότερον . . . ἢ : how used? — ἦν περ : sc. ὁδόν, and for the construction of this accusative with ἤλθομεν, cf. note on ὁδόν in i. 2. 20.

11. ἀπίνοντες : prot. = εἰ ἀπίοιμεν (G. 226, 1). — παντελῶς, *utterly*, der. from παν-τελής (τέλος). — ὑπὸ λιμοῦ : cf. i. 5. 5, and note. — ὑπάρχει ἡμῖν, *we have to depend on* : for the meaning of ὑπάρχω, cf. note on i. 1. 4. — οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, *nothing in the way of provisions*. — ἐπτακαίδεκα γάρ : γάρ is doubly related, introducing not only a ground for παντελῶς . . . ἀπολοιμέθα, but also one of the causes of ὑπάρχει . . . ἐπιτηδείων. — σταθμῶν : the σταθμός is here looked upon as a period of time. Cf. for the case ἡμερῶν in i. 7. 18. — ἐγγυτάτω : adj. (G. 141, N. 3 ; 142, 2). — ἐνθα, *there*. — νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν, i. e. I and those with me. νῦν δέ corresponds to ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν, and τῶν δ' . . . ἀπορήσομεν to μακροτέραν μὲν. — μακροτέραν : sc. ὁδόν ; cf. note on ἦν περ in § 10. — ἐπιτηδείων : why genitive?

12. πορευτέον : sc. ἐστί (G. 281, 2). — σταθμούς : cognate acc. to πορευτέον, *we must make our first marches*, lit. *march our first marches*. — ὥς . . . μακροτάτους, *as long as possible*. Cf. note on i. 1. 6, and ὥς πλείστον just below. μακροτάτους is predicate (cf. G. 142, 3). — ἀποσπασθῶμεν : explain the accent and mood. — στρατεύματος : why genitive? — ἀπαξ : cf. note on i. 9. 10. — δύο : here indeclinable (G. 77, 1, N. 1). — ἡμερῶν : gen. of measure (G. 167, 3). — ἀπόσχωμεν : why subj.? — οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται : emphatic fut. affirmation (G. 257). — στρατεύματι : dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), equiv. to ἐὰν ἔχη ὀλίγον στρατεύμα, corresp. to πολλὴν δ' ἔχων (below) = ἐὰν ἔχη. — σπανιεῖ : fut. of σπανίζω (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — ἔγωγε is expressed for emphasis, and further emphasized by γέ and by its position.

13. Ἦν δυναμένη, *amounted to, meant* : οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη stands like a pred. adjective after ἦν, the expression differing little from ἐδύνατο. — στρατηγία, *plan of operations*. — ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν : cf. i. 4. 8, and note. — τὸν ἥλιον, ἡλίω : cf. note on ἡλίω in ii. 1. 3. — τοῦτο : cf. ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο in i. 8. 11, and note.

14. ἔτι δέ, *but furthermore*. — δελήν : cf. note on i. 8. 1. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων : depends on the omitted (indefinite) antecedent of οἱ (G. 152). — οἱ μὴ ἔτιχον : a conditional relative clause (G. 232, 1 ; 231, end).

15. εἰσὶν, νέμονται : partial change of mood in quotation. Cf. note on i. 10. 5. — ἐστρατοπεδεύετο : impf. (not plup.), *was encamping*. — καὶ γὰρ καὶ : an unusual connection of particles, *and (they were sure of this) for smoke also*, etc.

16. ἀπειρηκότες, *were weary*, as pf. of ἀπ-αγορεύω, *to renounce, give up*,



grow weary: the perf. ἀπ-είρηκα, *to have grown* (and so to be) weary. Cf. i. 5. 3. — οὐ . . . ἀπέκλινε, *he did not, however, even* (δέ in οὐδέ) *turn aside, much less retreat.*

Page 43. — εὐθύωρον, *straight on*, an uncommon word. — εἰς: with ref. to the previous marching *into* the villages. — καὶ . . . ξύλα, *even the very timbers in (from) the houses* (G. 191, N. 6). Cf. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων in i. 2. 3, and note.

17. ὅμως: notwithstanding the villages had been pillaged. — τρόπῳ τινί, *after a fashion.* — σκοταῖοι, *in darkness* (G. 138, N. 7). — ἐτύγχανον: sc. αὐλιζόμενοι. — ὥστε ἀκούειν, ὥστε ἔφυγον: in the second case the result is stated as an independent fact, rather than merely as a result (G. 266, 1; 237).

18. καὶ βασιλεύς, *even the King*, and not only οἱ ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων φεύγοντες. — οἷς (G. 153, with N. 1).

19. τοῖς Ἑλλήσι: after the compound verb (G. 187). — οἶον: masculine accusative, subject of γίγνεσθαι, *qualem par est fieri.*

20. τῶν τότε: sc. κηρύκων. Homer says (*Iliad* v. 786) that Stentor (cf. Eng. *stentorian*), the “brazen-voiced,” was able to shout as loud as fifty other men together. — τοῦτον: taking up Τολμίδην. — τὰ ὅπλα: in a Greek camp the arms (heavy shields and spears) were generally stacked in one place. — ὅτι λήψεται: cf. i. 6. 2, and note. — ὅς ἂν μηνύσῃ, λήψεται: conditional relative sentence referring vividly to the future (G. 232, 3). — τάλαντον ἀργυρίου: cf. i. 7. 18.

21. εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι, *to get under arms in* (lit. *into*) *line of battle.* Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. — ἥπερ εἶχον, *just as they were* (or *stood*). — ἡ μάχη, i. e. *the battle of Cunaxa.*

### CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: At sunrise the King sends heralds to propose a truce (1). Clearchus arranges the army so as to present the most formidable appearance, and, coming forward (2, 3), asks what they want (4). He directs them to tell the King that they must fight first, as the Greeks have had no breakfast (5). The heralds depart, but soon return with word that, if the truce (which is to be general) should be concluded, the Greeks will be furnished provisions (6, 7). Clearchus thinks best to conclude the truce, and commands the heralds to lead the way (8, 9). They come upon ditches and canals, over which they are obliged to construct bridges (10). Clearchus punishes those who loiter, and himself takes part in the work (11), so that the older men also give their assistance (12). Clearchus suspects that the King has flooded the plain with a purpose (13). They arrive at certain villages where they procure provisions (14–16). They remain here three days, and Tissaphernes comes to confer with them (17), and says that he has asked the King to allow him to lead them back to Greece (18, 19), but that the King wishes to know why they took the field against him (20). Clearchus explains how they were drawn into the expedition (21, 22), but says that now, however, they wish simply to return (23). Tissaphernes reports this to the King (24), and on the third day returns saying that the King consents to his leading them home in safety (25). He swears on his part to do this faithfully



and to furnish provisions; and the Greeks swear to do no harm to the country on their way (26–28). Tissaphernes then goes back to the King, promising to return after completing his preparations (29).

1. “Ο . . . ἔγραψα: in ii. 2. 18. — τῶδε, *from what follows* (G. 188, 1; 148, N. 1). — πέμπων: sc. κήρυκας (cf. ii. 1. 7).

2. τοὺς προφύλακας, *the pickets*. — ζητούν: diff. in use between this word and αἰτέω on the one hand and ἔρωτάω on the other? — τυχών, ἐπισκοπών: classify these partic. — εἶπε, *told*. Cf. ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν in i. 3. 8, and note. — ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ: on the principle of indirect discourse we might have ἄχρι σχολάσειε (G. 248, 3).

3. κατέστησε, *had drawn up*. — ὥστε . . . πυκνήν, *so that it should be* (G. 266, 2) *well arranged to be seen* (G. 261, 2) *everywhere as a compact line* (i. e. to have this appearance in all parts).

Page 44. — μηδὲνα: why not οὐδένα? — εἶναι: in the same construction with the preceding ἔχειν. — τέ, τέ: the first τέ is correlative to the καί before τοῖς ἄλλοις; the second, to the καί before εὐειδестаτοῦς. — ταῦτά, i. e. προελθεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

4. πρὸς, *in front of* (G. 191, VI. 6). — ἦκοιεν, *had come*, the direct form is ἦκομεν (G. 200, N. 3) ἄνδρες οὔτινες ἐσόμεθα (G. 247, N. 1). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 74, 1, N. 1.

5. μάχης: genitive of want (G. 172, 1). — ὁ τολμήσων, *the man that will dare* (G. 276, 2), subj. of the preceding ἔστιν. — μὴ πορίσας = ἐὰν μὴ πορίσῃ (G. 226, 1). — Notice ἀριστον at both beginning and end of the last sentence.

6. ᾧ: the antecedent is the preceding sentence, ἦκον ταχύ. — δοκοῖεν, ἦκοιεν: the direct discourse would show the person of each verb: εἰκότα δοκεῖτε . . . καὶ ἦκομεν . . . οἱ ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξετε. — οἱ . . . ἐπιτήδεια, *who would conduct them* (the purpose for which the guides were brought), *if there should be a truce, to a place* (sc. ἐκεῖσε) *from which they would get* (the object in view) *provisions*. For this use of the fut. ind. with relative words (here οἱ and ἔνθεν) to express purpose or object, see G. 236, with N. 3. For the partial change of mood in the quoted sentence ὅτι . . . ἐπιτήδεια, see note on ὅτι . . . βασιλεῖ in § 4.

7. εἰ . . . ἀπιούσιν, *whether he was making a truce merely* (αὐτοῖς) *for the men* (as they were) *coming and going*, i. e. for the King's envoys. The direct question was σπένδομαι . . . ἢ . . . ἔσονται. — τοῖς ἄλλοις (G. 184, 3 or 4). — διαγγελθῇ: why subjunctive? Force of διὰ?

8. μεταστησάμενος, *had them retire, and, etc.* (G. 191, VI. 3, end). — ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι: cf. ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι in i. 2. 1, and note. — καθ' ἡσυχίαν, i. e. without being harassed by the enemy. Force of the suffix in ἡσυχία? — ἐπί, *after, in order to get*, involving the idea of purpose, but below, in § 9 at the end, πρὸς in the sense simply of *to*.

9. διατρίψω (sc. χρόνον). — ἀποδόξῃ: why subj.? For the force of ἀπό, cf. ἀπο-ψηφίσωνται in i. 4. 15, and note. — καιρός, *proper time*, whereas χρόνος is *time* in general.

10. οἱ μὲν: correlated by Κλέαρχος μέντοι. — τάφροις: cf. for the case, οἷς, i. 8. 1. — αὐλῶσιν, *canals*. — ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι, *so that they were not able*, ὥς with the inf. to express result (G. 266, N. 1). Cf. i. 5. 10, and note. — ἐποιοῦντο: sc. γεφύρας. — ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες: periphrastic pluperfect (G. 118, 4), which makes the idea of *being* on the ground more prominent than that of *falling*.

Page 45. — 11. Κλέαρχον . . . ἐπεστάτει: lit. *to learn Clearchus well, how he commanded*. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων, i. 1. 5, and also i. 6. 5. — τὸ δόρυ, *his spear*, but in the next line βακτηρίαν, *a staff or stick*, without the art., because the staff was no part of his regular equipment as a soldier. Give the stem from which βακτηρία is derived. — εἰ δοκοίη: why opt.? — τὸν ἐπιτήδειον: sc. παλεῖν (G. 261, 1). — ἔπαισεν ἄν: an *iterative aorist* (G. 206). For the use of the stick in Spartan military discipline, see i. 5. 11, and note. — αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν, *took hold himself*. — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7): the μὴ negatives the following inf. regularly; the οὐ (here very irregular) strengthens the neg. idea underlying αἰσχύνην εἶναι, *were ashamed, were un-willing* (*Moods and Tenses*, § 95, 2, N. 1, Rem.).

12. πρὸς: cf. i. 9. 20. It is doubtful whether we should read αὐτοῦ or αὐτό. MSS. αὐτόν. — οἱ . . . γεγονότες here must mean *those that were thirty years old and less*, which would regularly be οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη (as in vii. 3. 46). For the case of ἔτη, see G. 161. — σπουδάζοντα, *in earnest*. — προσελάμβανον: cf. § 11.

13. ὑποπτεύων: cf. i. 1. 1, and note. — μὴ: in the direct form οὐ (G. 242, 4). — ἄρδειν: with οἷα (sc. τοιαύτη), on the principle of G. 261, 1: *it was not the proper season for watering*, etc. Cf. *Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, N. 1. — ἤδη, *forthwith, at the very start*. — εἰς, with reference to, *for*. — τούτου ἔνεκα: taking up ἵνα προφαίνοιτο. Cf. G. 215, Rem. — ἀφεικέναι: see ἀφίημι.

14. ὅθεν: cf. ii. 1. 3, and note, and below, § 16. As an adverb ὅθεν goes with λαμβάνειν; as a relative it introduces the sentence. — ἀπέδειξαν λαμβάνειν, *gave them notice to take*. — οἶνος φοινίκων, *palm wine*. Cf. i. 5. 10. — ὄξος . . . αὐτῶν, *a sour* (cf. ὄξύς) *drink made from the same by boiling* (ἔψω, *to boil*).

15. αὐταὶ αἱ βάλανοι, *the dates themselves* (opposed to the wine, etc.), in partitive appos. (G. 137, N. 2). — τοῖς οἰκέταις: with ἀπέκλειντο (G. 184, 3). οἰκέτης, from οἶκος (G. 129, 2 b), properly a *house-servant*. — ἀπέκλειντο, *were set apart*; equiv. to pass. of ἀπετίθεσαν, below. — κἀλλους: gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — ἡλέκτρον: abridged for ἡλέκτρον ὀψews. Cf. the similar case explained in G. 186, N. 2. — τὰς δέ τινας, *but some* (τινῶν) *others*. — τραγήματα, *for sweetmeats*, to be eaten at dessert (G. 137, N. 4). — καὶ ἦν . . . ἡδὺ μὲν, *and these* (the τραγήματα, G. 135, 2) *were a palatable thing* (G. 138, N. 2 c) *also at a symposium* (πότον, not ποτόν). — κεφαλ-αλγές: derivation? See G. 131, 1.

16. τὸν ἐγ-κέφαλον, *the crown* (lit. *brain*), a large terminal cabbage-like growth at the top of the stem of the palm-tree. — ἰδιότης, *peculiar-ity* (see G. 129, 7). — ἡδονῆς, *flavor*. Cf. ἡδύ, above. — ἐξαιρεθεῖη: why opt.? — ὅλος, *entirely* (G. 138. A. 7): we sometimes sav. *it all dried un*.

17. ὁ . . . ἀδελφός: note the position of the genitives (G. 142, 1). — γυναικός: by name *Statira*. — αὐτοῖς: case (G. 186). Cf. Ἑλλάδι in the next section.

18. γέλτων: predicate nom. to οἰκῶ (G. 136; cf. 137, N. 4). — οἰκῶ: see *Hellen.* iii. 2. 12, *Καρία, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος*.

Page 46. — πολλὰ κῆμήχανα (i. e. καὶ ἄμ.), *many difficulties*, lit. *many and inextricable (straws)*, G. 141, N. 4): ἀμήχανα = ἐν οἷς οὐδεμία μηχανή. — εὖρημα, *a piece of good fortune*; from εὕρισκω (εὕρ-, G. 129, 4). — εἰ δυναίμην: we might have had εἰὰν δύνωμαι (G. 248, 2; 226, 4, N. 1), as the context implies, *I thought it would be a εὖρημα*, — οἶμαι . . . ἔχειν, *for I think it would not be a thankless labor for me* (G. 246). For ἀχαρίστως ἂν ἔχειν, cf. note on i. 1. 5, end. — πρὸς ὑμῶν: as if a passive had preceded in place of ἀχαρίστως ἔχειν.

19. ἐπιστρατεύοντα: quoted after ἡγγεῖλα (G. 280). For the fact mentioned, see i. 2. 4. — καὶ μόνος, κ. τ. λ.: cf. i. 10. 7 and 8. — σὺν τοῖσδε: with a gesture. — αὐτῷ: the King.

20. βουλευέσθαι: what other tenses might be used? (G. 203, N. 2). — εὐ-πρακτότερον: verbal adj. (G. 117, 3) in the comparative. The subj. of εὐπρακτότερον ἢ is διαπράξασθαι understood, the διαπράξασθαι expressed being the object of δύνωμαι.

21. μεταστάντες: second aor. Cf. μεταστησάμενος in § 8. — Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν, i. e. *Clearchus was their spokesman*. — ὡς βασιλεῖ πολέμησοντες, *with the intention of warring with the King* (G. 186, N. 1). When, as here, the subject of the leading verb is also the speaker (cf. G. 277, N. 2), ὡς simply emphasizes the *cause* or *purpose* denoted by the participle.

22. The speaker is referring in this section, probably, to the agreement entered into at Thapsacus, i. 4. 11–13. — θεούς, ἀνθρώπους: objects of ἡσχύνθημεν (G. 158, N. 2). The infinitive προδοῦναι is a second obj. of the same verb (G. 260, 1). — παρέχοντες (sc. αὐτῷ), *when we had offered* (G. 204, N. 1). — εὖ ποιεῖν: purpose (G. 265; 165, N. 1).

23. ἐπεὶ: here, *since*; above, in § 22, *when*. — βασιλεῖ . . . ἀρχῆς: cf. ii. 1. 11. — τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν: cf. i. 4. 8, and note. Cf. below, ἡμᾶς εὖ ποιῶν. — εἴ τις . . . λυποίη, i. e. *if no one should molest us*: τις is like French *on* and German *man*, with no exact English equivalent. — ἀδικοῦντα: sc. τινά, and cf. βουλευομένους in i. 1. 7. — ἡμᾶς . . . ὑπάρχει, *shall take the first step also (καὶ) in doing us good* (G. 279, 1), καὶ εὖ ποιῶν emphatically opposed to ἀδικοῦντα. — εὖ ποιοῦντες (G. 277, 2).

Page 47. — 24. ἤκω: mood? — αἱ . . . μενόντων, *let the truce continue*. — ἀγορὰν παρέξομεν, *will provide a market*, i. e. an opportunity for the Greeks to buy provisions.

25. εἰς: cf. εἰς ἔω, i. 7. 1, and note. — διαπεπραγμένος (cf. διαπράξασθαι in § 20): with δοθῆναι as its object. — δοθῆναι αὐτῷ: cf. the corresponding active δοῦναι ἐμοί in § 18. — καίπερ: with the following concessive part. (G. 277, N. 1 b). — ἄξιον βασιλεῖ, *befitting the King* (G. 185; 184, 2). Cf. G. 178, N.

26. τέλος: cf. i. 10. 13. — παρέξιν: sc. ἡμᾶς. The inf. is quoted after



the idea of *promising* in πιστά (G. 202, 3 a). So ἀπάξειν. — ὅπου δ' ἂν μή : why not οὐ ?

27. πορεύεσθαι, ἔξειν : both quoted after ὁμόσαι. Cf. the two future infinitives in § 26. — ὡς διὰ φιλίας (sc. χώρας), *as (you would go) through a friendly country*.

28. ταῦτα ἔδοξε : cf. note on i. 3. 20. — ὤμοσαν . . . ἔδοσαν : cf. note on πιστά in ii. 2. 10.

29. ὡς βασιλέα : cf. i. 2. 4. — διαπράξωμαι, *shall have accomplished*, with future perfect force (*Moods and Tenses*, § 20, N. 1). — ἃ δέομαι : sc. διαπράξασθαι. — ὡς ἀπάξων καὶ ἀπιών (G. 200, N. 3 b) : cf. note on ὡς πολεμήσοντες in § 21.

#### CHAPTER IV.

SYNOPSIS : The Greeks and Ariaeus remain encamped near each other for more than twenty days, during which time the barbarians receive visits from their friends (1). The Greeks grow uneasy and ask their generals why they remain, and express their suspicions of the King's intentions (2-4). Clearchus answers that it will not do to go away, as that would break the truce and they would be left without provisions, guide, or friends (5) ; that, moreover, the Euphrates bars their way, and that they have no cavalry (6). He declares his faith in the King's oath (7). Tissaphernes and Orontas arrive with their armies (8). The Greeks proceed with Tissaphernes as guide (9), but are suspicious of the Persians, and march apart from them. Mistrust increases on both sides, and they sometimes come to blows (10, 11). They arrive at the wall of Media (12), and from thence a march of two days brings them to the Tigris. The Greeks encamp near Sitáce, and the barbarians cross the river (13, 14). After supper a man brings a warning from Ariaeus to the Greeks to beware of a night-attack, and to guard the bridge over the Tigris (15-17). Clearchus is greatly alarmed (18) ; but the story is observed to be inconsistent (19, 20), and after questioning the messenger it is concluded that he has been sent with an ulterior object (21, 22). Nevertheless, a guard is sent to the bridge (23). At daybreak the Greeks cross the bridge (24), and proceed in four days to the river Physcus. Near Opis they are met by an illegitimate brother of the King, who views them as they pass, and is amazed at their number (25, 26). They proceed through Media, plundering the villages of Parysatis (27), and along the right bank of the Tigris, procuring provisions from Caenae, a city across the river (28).

1. ἔκοσιν : sc. ἡμέρας. — οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, *his other relatives* : ἀναγκαῖος (from ἀνάγκη, see G. 129, 12) is the Lat. *necessarius*. — δεξιás, *assurances*, pledged by the person who brought them with the *right hand*. — μὴ . . . αὐτοῖς, *that the King would bear them no ill-will* (μνησι-κακήσειν : μιμνήσκω, stem μνα-, and κακός). The inf. is quoted after δεξιás ; cf. παρέξεν in ii. 3. 26. — ἐπιστρατείας : gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — τῶν παροιχομένων, *of what was past* (G. 200, N. 3).

2. οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίον, *Ariaeus and those with him* (G. 141, N. 3). Cf. οἱ ἀμφὶ Τιτσαφέρνην, iii. 5. 1. — ἔνδηλοι . . . νοῦν, *evidently paid less regard to the Greeks*. For προσέχοντες, cf. ἀνιῶμενος in i. 2. 11, and note.



Page 48. — 3. *ἥ* may introduce the second part of an alternative question (G. 282, 5), even when the former part is only implied (here *πότερον ἄλλως ἔχει*). Cf. the use of *an* in Lat. — *περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιο*: cf. *περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο* in i. 9. 7, and note. — *ἦ*: subj. of purpose (G. 216). The opt. referring to the future has the force of a primary tense (*Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 2). — *στρατεύειν*: dependent on *φόβος* (G. 261, 1, with N. 1). We might have had *οἱ ἄλλοι "Ε. φοβῶνται . . . στρατεύειν*. — *ὑπάγεται*: cf. ii. 1. 18. — *διεσπάρθαι*: see *διασπείρω* and G. 262, 1. — *ἀλίσθη*: cf. *διαπράξωμαι*, ii. 3. 29. — *οὐκ . . . ἡμῖν*, *it is not possible that he will not attack us*, lit. *there is not how* (introducing the indir. quest.) *he will not*, etc. (G. 283, 8).

4. *ἥ . . . ἀποτειχίζει*, *is either trenching or walling off some point*. Cf. the use of *τι* in i. 10. 16. — *τοσοῖδε*, *so few*: accent (G. 27, 4). — *ἐπὶ . . . αὐτοῦ*, *at his very doors*.

5. *ἐπὶ πολέμῳ* = *πολεμήσοντες*. — *ἔπειτα*, *moreover*, introducing *πρῶτον μὲν, αὐθις δέ*, etc. — *θεν*, (*a place*) *from which*. — *ἐπισιτιούμεθα*: purpose (G. 236). — *ἅμα* and *εὐθύς* (G. 277, N. 1) both qualify *ἀφεστήξει*, which is a future perfect (G. 110, IV. c, N. 2; 200, N. 9). Cf. below, *λελείπεται*. — *ὄντες*: sc. *φίλοι*.

6. *ποταμός*: emphatic, as if he had said, *but as to rivers, I don't know whether* (*εἰ*), etc. — *διαβατέος*: the verbal in *-τέος* used personally (G. 281, 1). — *οὐ μὲν δῆ*: cf. i. 9. 13, and note. — *αν*, i. e. *ἐάν*. — *οὐ . . . εἰσιν*: implying also, *nor will there be*. — *τῶν δέ . . . ἄξιοι*, *whereas the enemy's horse are very numerous* (lit. *the most*, compared with those of other nations) *and very efficient*. — *νικῶντες* = *εἰ νικῶμεν*; but *ἡττωμένων*, to which *σωθῆναι* is apod., = *ἐάν ἡττώμεθα*, or perhaps *εἰ ἡττώμεθα* (see *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 2 b). — *οἶόν τε*: sc. *ἐστίν*.

7. *σύμμαχα*, *helps*. — *δ τι*, *on what account* (G. 160, 2; 149, 2<sup>2</sup>). — *αὐτόν*: repeating *βασιλέα*. — *θεούς*: cf. *θεούς* in ii. 3. 22, and G. 158, N. 2.

8. *ὥς ἀπιών*, *as if going* (G. 277, N. 2): here the writer and the subj. of the leading verb are not the same person (cf. note on *ὥς πολεμήσοντες* in ii. 3. 21, and ii. 3. 29), so that *ἀπιών* expresses the intention *professed by Tissaphernes*. There is nothing in the use of *ὥς* to indicate the historian's opinion as to the honesty of this profession. See note on *ὥς βοηθήσων* in § 25. — *εἰς οἶκον* = *οἴκαδε*: see note on *οἰκῶ* in ii. 3. 18. Besides Caria he now had the satrapy of Cyrus. — *ἦγε*, i. e. *Orontas*. Cf. iii. 4. 13. — *ἐπὶ γάμῳ*, *in marriage, as his wife*.

Page 49. — 10. *αὐτοὶ . . . ἐχώρουν*, *proceeded by themselves*. — *ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο*: the Greeks and barbarians. — *ὥσπερ πολέμιους* (sc. *φυλαττόμενοι*), *just as (if they were guarding against) enemies* (G. 277, N. 3).

11. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*: sc. *τόπου*, and cf. i. 8. 14. — *πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον*: cf. i. 5. 11.

12. *τείχος*: mentioned in i. 7. 15. If we suppose that the southern part of this wall, which reached from the Tigris to the Euphrates, was in ruins, it is easy to account, first, for Xenophon's not describing it in i. 7. 15, but here; and, secondly, for the King's digging the ditch for the purpose, on

that assumption, of completing the line of defence furnished by the northern part of the wall. In the retreat Tissaphernes led the Greeks westward on the southern side of the ditch, in order that they should not see the rich plain of Babylonia, and so brought them outside of the wall again, which they now *pass within* (παρήλθον) on their way to the Tigris. — ἦν ᾠκοδομημένον = ᾠκοδόμητο (G. 118, 4). — κειμέναις, *lying*; we say *laid*. — ποδῶν: why gen.? — μήκος δ' ἐλέγετο, *but in length, it was said*, etc.

13. τὴν δ' . . . ἑπτὰ, *and the other (by its having been) bridged over* (means, G. 277, 2) *with seven boats*. See note on § 24. — ἦσαν ἀπό: cf. εἰσὶν ἐκ in i. 2. 7. — ὥσπερ: sc. κατατέμνεται.

14. δένδρων: with παράδεισος (G. 167, 4). If it went with δασέος it would be δένδροις (cf. iv. 7. 6). — οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι: sc. ἐσκήνησαν.

15. ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες, *happened to be walking*. — πρὸ τῶν ὄπλων: cf. note on ii. 2. 20. — οὐκ ἐξήτει, *did not ask for, ask to see*. — καὶ ταῦτα ὦν: cf. i. 4. 12, and note.

16. ὅτι: introducing direct discourse. Cf. i. 6. 8, end, and note.

Page 50. — Ἐπεμψε (G. 135, N. 1). — πιστοί: cf. note on i. 5. 15. — μὴ ἐπιθῶνται (G. 216).

17. ὥς διανοεῖται, *since T. intends*, etc.; but in the next line ὥς, *in order that*. — τῆς διώρυχος: the second of the two mentioned in § 13; over this there was only a pontoon bridge, which could be destroyed easily.

19. νεανίσκος τις: conjectured to have been Xenophon himself. — οὐκ ἀκόλουθα, *inconsistent*. — τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν, i. e. *the two stories of an intention to attack, and at the same time to destroy the bridge*: we should expect τὸ also before λύσειν. For the unusual fut. inf. see G. 202, 3 b; also *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 2 b. — νικᾶν: sc. αὐτούς as subject. — τί δεῖ . . . γέφυραν: *why need they destroy the bridge?* implying *what good will it do them*, etc.? It is thus a proper apod. to the future prot. ἐὰν . . . νικῶσι (G. 223). — ἂν (i. e. ἐὰν) ὦσιν, ἔχομεν ἂν: a subj. in the prot. (G. 223), with an opt. with ἂν in the apod. (G. 224), the latter belonging to an implied prot. in the opt., such as, *if we should wish to escape* (G. 227, 1; *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 a<sup>2</sup>). The οὐ in οὐδέ, *not even*, modifies ἔχομεν ἂν, the meaning being, *even if there are (shall be) many bridges, we should not know*, etc. Cf. for this meaning of οὐκ ἔχω, i. 7. 7, and note; and see also οὐχ ἔξουσιν in § 20.

22. ὑποπέμψειαν, *had sent with a false message* (ὑπό): the dir. form was ὑπέπεμψαν (G. 243). — ἔνθεν μὲν, ἔνθεν δέ, *on this side, on that*. — πολλῆς . . . ἐνότων, *since it was extensive and fertile, and since there were men in it to work it*. — εἰτα δὲ καί, *and moreover also*. — ἀπο-στροφή (see G. 129, 1). — εἴ τις βούλοιτο, *in case that any one should wish*, might have been ἐάν τις βούληται (G. 248, N.).

23. ἐπὶ μέντοι . . . ὅμως, *yet they nevertheless*, etc., i. e. notwithstanding that they now knew the man's statements were false. Cf. ii. 2. 17. — ἀπήγγελλον, i. e. the next morning.

Page 51. — 24. ἐzeugμένην: the Greek said ζευγνύναι γέφυραν (G. 159), *to build (join) a bridge*, or ζευγνύναι ποταμόν (διώρυχα), *to bridge a river*

*channel*); for the latter see § 13. — ὥς . . . πεφυλαγμένως, *as guardedly as possible*: supply ἦν with οἷόν τε (= δυνατόν). — τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηους Ἑλ.: cf. τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως, i. 1. 5, and note. — διαβαινόντων (sc. αὐτῶν): we should expect the dat. after ἐπιθήσασθαι, rather than the gen. absolute. In the same way διαβαινόντων occurs in the next line, notwithstanding the following αὐτοῖς. — σκοπῶν: participle. — διαβαίνουιν: in the direct form διαβαίνουσι (G. 243), *to see whether they were crossing*. — ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων, *went riding off* (G. 279, 4, N.); ὥχετο, lit. *was off* (G. 200, N. 3).

25. πλέθρου: cf. πλέθρων, i. 2. 23. — ὥκεῖτο: cf. οἰκουμένην, i. 4. 1. — ἡ ὄνομα Ὡπιδίς: cf. i. 5. 4, and note. — πρὸς ἡν: why accusative? — ὥς βοηθήσων (G. 277, N. 2): ὥς shows only that the partic. gives the purpose which is professed by the subject (ὁ ἀδελφός). See note on ὥς ἀπιῶν in § 8, and on ὥς πολεμήσοντες in ii. 3. 21. Cf. also i. 1. 11, and note.

26. εἰς δύο, *two abreast* (G. 191, III. 1 c). They marched by in column. — ἄλλοτε . . . ἐφιστάμενος, *halting now and then*. — τὸ ἡγούμενον (object): cf. ii. 2. 4, and note. — ἐπιστήσκει: why opt.? — ἐπίστασιν: force of the suffix σις? — ἐκπεπλήχθαι: see note on i. 5. 13.

27. Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν, *insulting Cyrus* (G. 184, 2) *besides* (ἐπὶ), i. e. besides gratifying the Greeks. Cf. ἐπι-λέγειν, i. 9. 26. — διαρπάσαι . . . ἐπέτρεψε: cf. i. 2. 19, and note. — πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων, i. e. *except that the men in them were not to be made slaves*.

## CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: They arrive at the river Zapatas, and Clearchus sends a messenger to Tissaphernes and requests an interview (1, 2). When they meet, Clearchus expresses his hope that they shall be able to dispel the mutual distrust of the Greeks and barbarians (3, 4); mentions cases where great evil has been done through misunderstanding (5, 6); refers to their oaths and the vengeance of the Gods should they break them (7); details the facts which render it necessary for the Greeks to retain the friendship of the Persians (8-12), and the advantages to the barbarians of an alliance with his Greek army (13, 14); and finally he asks to know who has excited the suspicions against them (15). Tissaphernes assures Clearchus that the Greeks have no cause for distrust (16), showing how completely they are in the power of the Persians (17-19), and how unnecessary it would be for the latter to resort to perjury if they wished to destroy their former enemies (20, 21). He expresses great personal friendship for the Greeks, and hints at an especial service they may do for him (22, 23). Clearchus believes him sincere, and when he promises to disclose the names of those who have sought to create distrust between them, if Clearchus with the rest of the generals will come to him, the Greek general consents (24-26). The next day he returns to camp and states what has been agreed upon, and, though opposed by some of the soldiers, finally persuades five of the generals and twenty captains to accompany him (27-30). The generals are invited to enter the tent of Tissaphernes, and not long after they are seized and those without murdered (31, 32). Nicarchus alone escapes, and flees terribly wounded to the Greeks (33), who run to arms (34). Ariaeus with 300 Persians approaches the camp, and calls for some general or captain (35, 36). Cleanor, Sophanetus, and Xen-



ophon come forward (37). Ariaeus tells them that Clearchus, having violated the truce, is dead, but that Proxenus and Menon are in great honor, and that the King demands their arms (38). In answer Cleanor reproaches him for his treachery, and Xenophon skilfully asks that Proxenus and Menon may be sent to the Greeks to advise them (39-41). The barbarians leave without making answer (42).

1. ὑποψίαι, *feelings of distrust* (ὑφ-οράω). — φανερά, pred. to ἐφαίνετο; is specially opposed to ὑποψίαι.

Page 52. — 2. Τισσαφέρνει: cf. τούτω, i. 1. 9. — εἴ πως δύναιτο (G. 248, 2), *in case he could in any way*, etc. The apod., suggested by παύσαι, would be ἵνα παύσῃε or the like. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 53, N. 2, for further details of this important construction. — πρὶν γενέσθαι (G. 274). — ἐροῦντα (G. 277, 3).

3. Τισσαφέρνη: a *heteroclit* voc. (G. 60, 1b). — ἀδικήσιν: cf. μνησι-κακήσιν in ii. 4. 1, and note. — φυλαττόμενον ἡμᾶς, *are on your guard against us* (G. 280). — ὥς πολεμίους, *as (you would be against) an enemy*.

4. οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε: we should expect οὔτε δύναμαι to correspond to ἐγώ τε οἶδα. See note on μήτε . . . τε in ii. 2. 8. — πειρώμενον (G. 280). — οὐτι . . . οὐδέν, *that we on our part do not even think of any such thing* (G. 280, N. 3). — εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, *to have an interview with you* (G. 186, N. 1, end). — εἰ δυναίμεθα (G. 248, N.). Cf. § 2. — ἀλλήλων (G. 174).

5. ἐκ, *in consequence of*. — οἱ . . . ἐποίησαν: we should expect φοβηθέν-τας . . . βουλομένους . . . ποιήσαντας (G. 280), but such an accumulation of participles would be harsh. — φθάσαι: sc. ποιήσαντές τι (G. 279, 4). — μέλλοντας, *intending*, transitively. — αὖ, i. e. *what is more*.

6. ἀγνωμοσύνας, *misunderstandings* (G. 129, 7).

7. πρῶτον . . . μέγιστον, *for first and chiefly*. Cf. i. 3. 10. The correl. of μέν is δέ in § 8. — θεῶν (G. 167, 3), *oaths (sworn) by the Gods*, as we say ὀμνῦναι θεούς. — εἶναι (G. 263, 1). — τούτων, i. e. τῶν θεῶν ὅρκων (G. 171, 2). — παρημεληκώς (G. 280, N. 2): cf. ἔψευσμένος, i. 3. 10, and note. — τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον, *the Gods' war* (G. 167, 2). — ἀπό, *with, by the aid of*. — φεύγων, *flying*; but ἀποφύγοι ἄν, *could make his escape*. Cf. i. 4. 8, and note. — ὅπως . . . ἀποσταίῃ, *how he could retire to a strong place*, i. e. to a place that would prove really ἐχυρόν against the Gods. For the three apod. with prot. implied, see G. 226, 2b. — πάντη πάντα: cf. πάντων πάντα in i. 9. 2, and the πανταχῇ πάντων following. — θεοῖς (G. 185; 184, 2). With this section compare *Psalms* cxxxix. 7-12.

8. περὶ μὲν δὴ: μὲν is repeated from πρῶτον μὲν in § 7. — παρ' οὓς (i. e. τοὺς θεοὺς) . . . κατεθέμεθα, *in whose hands we have deposited the friendship which we have compacted*. — τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων, *but of human things* (G. 168). — ἐν τῷ παρόντι, *in the present crisis*.

9. πᾶσα ὁδός, *every road*; but following, πᾶσα ἡ ὁδός, *all the way*. — αὐτῆς: with οὐδέν.

Page 53. — φοβερώτατον (G. 138, N. 2 c).

10. ἄλλο τι (sc. ποιούμεν) ἂν ᾤ: ἄλλο τι ᾤ or the simple ἄλλο τι is



equivalent in asking a question to οὐ or ἄρα οὐ, Lat. *nonne* (G. 282, 3). — εὐ-εργέτην, *bene-factor* (suff. τα-). — ἔφεδρον, *a fresh opponent, a successor in the contest*, prop. of an odd combatant in the public games, who remained without an adversary when the others had been paired by lot, and *sat by* (ἐπὶ and ἔδρα) ready to engage (of course at a great advantage) with any athlete who should beat his adversary. — ταῦτα repeats the indirect question.

11. τῶν τότε (G. 141, N. 3<sup>2</sup>). — δν βούλοιτο (G. 247; 233) might be δν ἂν βούληται. — ἔχοντα, σώζοντα, οὔσαν (G. 280). — ἥ . . . ἐχρήτο, *which Cyrus found hostile*. — ταύτην: repeating τὴν . . . δύναμιν with emphasis.

12. τούτων . . . ὄντων, *but since this is so*. — ὅστις οὐ βούλεται: result (G. 237, N.). — ἀλλὰ μήν begins the sent. as if the parenthesis ἐρῶ . . . εἶναι were to be followed by a sentence like καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ὠφελεῖν δυνησόμεθα. (Krüger.) This is really said in other words in § 13 and § 14.

13. οὓς νομίζω ἂν παρασχεῖν, *whom I think I could render* (παράσχοιμι ἂν): cf. i. 3. 6. So παῦσαι ἂν (G. 134, 3). — ἐν-οχλοῦντα, *disturbing*, lit. *crowding* (ὄχλος) upon (G. 279, 1). — οἷς: with τεθυμωμένους, *incensed* (G. 184, 2). — κολάσαισθε: doubtful emendation for κολάσεσθε, made on acc. of ἂν (G. 208, 2). — τῆς . . . οὔσης = ἡ τῇ . . . οὔσῃ.

14. ὡς μέγιστος (sc. φίλος), *the very greatest*: cf. ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον, i. 1. 6. — ἔχων ὑπηρέτας = εἰ ἔχοις, κ. τ. λ.: additional protasis to both ἂν εἴης and ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο. — τῆς χάριτος: with ἔνεκα. — ἦν ἂν ἔχοιμεν: χάριν ἔχω is exactly the Lat. *gratiam habeo*: cf. note on i. 4. 15.

15. οὕτω θαυμαστόν, *so surprising*. — τοῦνομα τίς: a mingling of two constructions, *ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τίς, κ. τ. λ.*, and *τοῦνομά τινος ὅστις, κ. τ. λ.* Rehdantz, however, explains the words: *I would gladly hear by name, who is so skilled*, etc. — ἀπημείφθη, *replied*, a form found only here. It reminds us of ἀπαμειβόμενος and ἀμείβετο in Homer.

16. Ἀλλά: cf. ii. 1. 4, and note. — ἥδομαι ἀκούων: cf. ἥσθη ἰδών, i. 2. 18. — ἀκούων σου λόγους (G. 171, 2, N. 1). — γινώσκων, *since you know*.

Page 54. — μοι δοκεῖς must be translated impersonally, *it seems to me*, in order to bring in κακόνους ἂν εἶναι, *that you would be evil-minded*, in English. We cannot use *would*, or any equivalent of ἂν, with the infinitive. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 92, 2, N. 2. — ὡς ἂν μάθης (G. 216, N. 2).

17. εἰ ἐβουλόμεθα, *supposing it was our wish*, i. e. when we made the treaty (G. 221); to this the apod. is ἀπορεῖν (= ἀποροῦμεν) quoted after δοκοῦμεν. Cf. ἀπορεῖν ἂν in § 18, and note. — ἐν ᾗ, *by means of which*. — ἀντιπάσχειν: with κίνδυνος (G. 261, 1); sc. εἴη ἂν.

18. ἐπιτιθεσθαι: with ἐπιτηδεῶν. — ἀπορεῖν ἂν (= ἀποροῦμεν ἂν): cf. note on § 16, and ἀπορεῖν in § 17, and note. — τοσαῦτα: with a gesture. — ὄντα, *though they are*. — ὑμῖν ὄντα πορευτέα, *must be crossed by you*, quoted after ὁρᾶτε (G. 280): direct form, ὑμῖν πορευτέα ἐστίν (G. 281, 1). Cf. with the active of this const., ὅρη πορεύεσθαι, the note on ὁδόν in i. 2. 20. — ταμιεύεσθαι, *to parcel out*, like a steward (ταμίης), and so *to have by themselves, to deal with at once*, etc.; sc. τοσοῦτους, antec. of ὁπόσοις.

19. ἀλλά, *still*. — δν κατακαύσαντες (causal). — οὐδ' εἰ, *not even if*: the οὐ goes with ἂν δύναισθε; the δέ (*even*), with the conditional clause.

20. *ἔχοντες*: conditional (note in the next line *μηδένα*) = *εἰ ἔχομεν*. For *εἰ ἔχομεν ἐξελοίμεθα ἂν*, see G. 227, 1. — *ἔπειτα*: cf. *εἰτα* in i. 2. 25, and note. — *πῶς ἂν . . . ἂν ἐξελοίμεθα* (G. 212, 2). — *πρός* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 α).

21. *παντάπασι . . . ἐστί*, but it is characteristic of (belongs to, G. 169, 1) those altogether without resources. — *καὶ τούτων*, and that too: cf. *καὶ ταῦτα* in i. 4. 12. — *οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι*: used as if *ἄποροί εἰσιν*, κ. τ. λ. preceded; we should expect simply *ἐθέλειν*, to be willing. Cf. *ὅστις . . . αἰρείται* in place of *αἰρείσθαι* simply, in ii. 6. 6.

22. *ἔξόν*, when it was possible, acc. absolute (G. 278, 2). — *οὐκ . . . ἤλθομεν*, did we not proceed to do it? — *ἔρως*, earnest desire: sc. *ἐστί*. — *τούτου* refers to *οὐκ . . . ἤλθομεν*. — *τὸ . . . ἰσχυρόν*: the whole infin. clause stands as an object acc. after the verbal idea in *ἔρως*: trans. *my desire that I may secure the confidence of the Greeks* (cf. note on i. 7. 4, end), and with that mercenary force (G. 154) with which (G. 188, 5) C. made his expedition . . . with this (*τούτῳ*) I may return to the coast, etc. *μισθοδοσίας* and *εὐεργεσίας* (see G. 129, 3) are accusatives.

23. *ὅσα*: with *χρήσιμοι* (G. 160, 1). — *ἐστέ*, are by anticipation, and so for *ἔσεσθε*. — *τὰ μὲν . . . εἶπας*, some you also have mentioned. — *τιάραν*: a steeple-shaped head-dress of distinguished Persians, worn upright (*ὀρθήν*) only by the King; when worn by others, the point was bent forward. — *τὴν δ' . . . ἔχοι* (sc. *ὀρθήν*): as it was the outward sign of royalty to wear the tiara upright on the head, so *wearing it upright in the heart* means *aspiring to royal dignity*, i. e. bearing the royal symbol in the heart, though not on the head. T. thus intimates his intention to revolt from the King by the aid of the Greeks, in order to blind Clearchus to his real plans.

Page 55. — 24. *εἶπεν*: repeated in *ἔφη*. — *οὐκοῦν*, therefore, in questions implies an affirm. answer, and is generally to be rendered by *not then?* — *τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων*, when such grounds exist. — *παθεῖν* (G. 261, 1).

25. *οἱ . . . λοχαγοί*: in app. to the subj. of *βούλεσθε*. — *ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ*, i. e. so that it shall be apparent to both armies that we trust one another. Cf. *ἐν τῷ φανερώ* in i. 3. 21.

26. *σοί* (accented) is emphatic. — *αὐτῷ*, in turn. — *θεν*, from what quarter.

27. *ἐκ*, after, in consequence of, Germ. *in Folge*. Cf. i. 3. 11. — *δηλὸς τ' ἦν οἰόμενος*: cf. i. 2. 11. — *πάνυ φιλικῶς διακείσθαι*, that he was on very friendly terms with. — *ἐκέλευσε* (subj. *Τισσ.*): sc. *ἰέναι*. — *οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι*: the verb might have been in what other mood? Could *ἐκέλευσε* have been so changed? See G. 247, with n. 2. — *διαβάλλοντες* (G. 280). — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: with *οἱ*. — *οἱ . . . αὐτούς*: cf. *δν . . . αὐτόν* in i. 9. 29: *αὐτούς* is added for emphasis.

28. *αὐτῷ*, i. e. Clearchus. — *ὅπως . . . ἦ* (G. 216, 2).

29. *ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην*, to be devoted. — *τοὺς παραλυπούντας*, troublesome rivals (note the prep. in comp.). — *μὴ ἰέναι, μηδὲ πιστεύειν* (G. 260, 1): the underlying idea is that of a command, not that of a statement of fact.

30. *ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν*, insisted strenuously. — *ἔστε διεπράξαντο* (G. 239, 1). — *ὥς εἰς ἀγοράν*, i. e. without arms.

Page 56. — 32. οἱ ἔνδον, οἱ ἔξω (G. 141, N. 3<sup>2</sup>). — *ᾤτινι πάντας*: cf. i. 1. 5, and note.

33. *ἰππασίαν*: force of the suff.? — *ἡμφεγνόουν* (G. 105, 1, N. 3). — *εἰς τὴν γαστέρα*: the accusative with reference to the motion of the weapon.

36. *εἴ τις . . . λοχαγός*, i. e. *whatever general or captain there was* (G. 248, 1), direct *εἴ τις ἔστιν*, suggests the subject of *προσελθεῖν*. — *ἀπαγγείλωσι*: why subjunctive?

37. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: depending on the proper names. — *στρατηγοὶ μὲν, σὺν αὐτοῖς δέ*: the first two are contrasted, as generals, with Xenophon. — *Ξενοφῶν*: cf. iii. 1. 4 sq. — *τὰ περὶ*, the fate of.

38. *ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον*, got within hearing distance. — *ἐπιορκῶν, λύων*: with *ἐφάνη* (G. 280). — *ἔχει τὴν δίκην*, has received his deserts. — *αὐτοῦ* (G. 142, 4, N. 3). — *ἀπαιτεῖ* (G. 164). — *ἑαυτοῦ* (G. 169, 1). — *εἶναι*: sc. *τὰ ὄπλα*. — *δούλου*: cf. i. 7. 3, and note.

39. *ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ*: cf. ii. 1. 10. — *Ὀρχομένιος*, of Orchomenus, an ancient city of Arcadia, called *πολύμηλος* by Homer (*Il.* ii. 605). — *οἱ ἄλλοι*: in app. to *ὑμεῖς* understood, *you others*. Cf. § 25. — *θεούς, ἀνθρώπους*: cf. ii. 3. 22, and note. — *οὔτινες ἀπολωλέκατε, ἔρχεσθε*: causal (G. 238). — *ἡμῖν*: with *ὁμόσαντες*; cf. *οἷς*, below. — *τοὺς αὐτοὺς* (sc. *ἡμῖν*), *the same that we should*: the position of *ἡμῖν* expressed forbids its being taken with *τοὺς αὐτοὺς*. — *φίλους καὶ ἐχθρούς* (G. 137, N. 4). — *νομιεῖν* (G. 110, II. 2, N. 1 c).

Page 57. — *τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς*, the rest of us.

40. *γάρ*, (we are not that) *for*. — *ἐπιβουλεύων*: cf. i. 6. 8.

41. *ἐπὶ τούτοις*, upon this. — *εἰ . . . ἔλυε* (G. 221). — *Πρόξενος, Μένων*: in emphatic position before *ἐπεὶ περ*: we should render, *but as to P. and M., since indeed they are*, etc. — *εὐεργέται*: force of the suffix?

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Biographical Sketches of the Five Generals.*

SYNOPSIS: Of the five generals, who after their seizure are taken to Babylon and beheaded, Clearchus was the most prominent; a man well qualified for war and fond of it (1). He fought during the Peloponnesian War against the Athenians, and at its close undertook an expedition to Thrace (2). When ordered to return by the Ephors, he disobeyed (3) and was condemned to death. Being now an exile, he went to Cyrus and received from him 10,000 darics (4), with which he collected an army and plundered the Thracians until summoned to Asia (5). Summary of the evidence that he was fond of war (6) and fitted for it (7). As evidence that he was fitted for command, notwithstanding his gloomy and harsh disposition, he was skilful in providing supplies for his army and an excellent disciplinarian (8–10). In time of danger his soldiers willingly obeyed him, but left him, when the peril was over, for a general of less harsh disposition (11, 12). No one was personally attached to him, but his troops were excellent soldiers (13, 14). He was about fifty years of age when he died (15). — Proxenus was ambitious from boyhood (16). He joined Cyrus, hoping to gain wealth, influence, and a great name (17), but was unwilling to acquire any of



these by unjust means (18). He was able to command well-disposed men, but could not inspire ordinary soldiers with fear or respect; he was thirty years old when he died (19, 20). — Menon was avaricious, stooping to perjury, falsehood, and deceit to gain his ends (21, 22). He respected and spared an enemy because he was dangerous, but ridiculed and plundered his friends (23, 24). He respected perjury and injustice, but looked upon the pious and truthful as fools (25). He took pride in deceit and ridicule of friends (26), and sought to be honored and courted by showing his power and willingness to do wrong (27). Even in extreme youth he was notoriously licentious (28). He was not put to death with the others, but died like a malefactor, after being tortured alive for a whole year (29). — Agias and Socrates were both courageous in war and faithful to their friends; and at the time of their death each was thirty-five years old (30).

1. μέν: cf. μέν in i. 10, 19, and note. — οὕτω, *so, as above described*. — τὰς κεφαλὰς (G. 197, 1, N. 2, last ex.): the corresp. active constr. would be αὐτοῖς ἀποτέμνουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς. — εἷς: in app. to (part of) στρατηγοί. — μέν: correl. to δέ in § 16. — ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, *as was agreed by* (cf. ἐκ in i. 1. 6) *all*. — αὐτοῦ (G. 182, 1; 180, 1). — δόξας γενέσθαι, *i. e. who appeared to have been* (lit. *to have become or to have shown himself*). — Cf. with this section i. 9, 1.

2. πόλεμος: the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B. C.). — ἀδικοῦσι, *had wronged*; cf. i. 5, 11, and note. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας: the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonesus. — διαπραξάμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων, *having secured (his object) from the Ephors*. — ὡς πολεμήσων: cf. i. 1, 11, and note.

3. μετα-γνόντες πως, *changing their mind for some reason*. — ἔφ-οροι (*over-seers*), Ephors. — Ἴσθμοῦ: of Corinth. — ὥχετο πλέων: cf. ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων in ii. 4, 24, and note.

4. ἐθανατώθη, *was condemned to death* (G. 130, 3): cf. θάνατος, θνήσκω. — τελῶν, *magistrates*, the ἔφοροι. — ἄλλη: no such arguments (λόγοις) are given in the *Anabasis*. Cf. i. 1, 9, and i. 3, 3, 4. — δαρεικοῦς: cf. note on i. 7, 18.

5. ῥαθυμίαν, *a life of ease* (ῥάδιος and θυμός). — ἀπὸ . . . χρημάτων: cf. i. 1, 9. — ἀπὸ τούτου, *from this time on*. — ἔφερε καὶ ἡγε, *plundered, or pilaged*: φέρω properly of objects that can be carried off, ἄγω of cattle; Lat. ferre et agere. — πολεμῶν διεγένετο, *went on warring* (G. 279, 1).

Page 58. — 6. φιλο-πολέμου (G. 131, 1): cf. πολεμ-ικός in § 7. — ὅστις αἰρεῖται: cf. οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι in ii. 5, 21, and note. — ἐξόν: cf. ii. 5, 22. — αἰσχύνῃ, βλάβῃ (see G. 129, 1). — αἰρεῖται, *chooses*. — ὥστε πολεμεῖν, *i. e. provided that he may be (laboring) in war* (G. 266, 2). — εἰς παιδικά, *upon a favorite*. — δαπανᾶν, *to make outlays*.

7. ταύτῃ, *herein, in these regards*. — ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, *by day or night* (indifferently, G. 179, 1). — ἄγων: like the two adjectives, with ἦν, *ready to lead*. — πανταχοῦ πάντες: cf. ii. 5, 7, and note.

8. ὡς δυνατὸν . . . εἶχεν, *so far as was possible with* (i. e. *for a man of*) *such a temper as he certainly (καὶ) had*. — ὡς . . . ἄλλος: cf. i. 3, 15, and note. — ὅπως ἔχοι (G. 217, N. 1). — αὐτῷ (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, *to inspire in those present (the feeling)*. — ὡς πειστέον εἶναι = ὡς δεοί αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι, *that they must obey* (G. 243; 281, 2).



9. ἐκ τοῦ . . . εἶναι, *by being severe* (G. 262, 1; 138, N. 8). — ὁρᾶν (see G. 261, 2). — ὥς (G. 266, 2, N. 1).

Page 59. — ἔσθ' ὅτε, *sometimes*, lit. *there is when*: cf. ἐνότε just preceding (G. 152, N. 2), and the note on ἦν . . . οὗς in i. 5. 7. — γνώμη, *on principle, systematically*: note καί before γνώμη. — ἀκολάστου, *undisciplined*. — στρατεύματος . . . ὄφελος: cf. i. 3. 11.

10. λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν: Xen. states the facts not on his own authority. Cf. i. 9. 23. — τὸν ἄρχοντα, *his commander*. — εἰ μέλλοι, *if he were either to, etc.* (G. 247): the dir. form would be δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι . . . εἰ μέλλει, κ. τ. λ. — φυλακάς: why acc.? — ἀ-προφασίστως (πρό-φασις), *boldly, promptly*, lit. *without making excuses*.

11. τὸ στυγνόν, *the sternness, gloom* (G. 139, 2): cf. τὸ χαλεπὸν and τὸ ἐπίχαρι, below. — παιδρὸν: pred. to φαίνεσθαι. — ἐν τοῖς προσώποις (poetic plural): connect with τὸ στυγνόν. — ἔρρωμένον, *something strong or vigorous; like vigor*.

12. ὅτε γένοιτο (G. 233). — πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, i. e. *to go away into the service of another*. — διέκειντο, *were disposed*. The active is expressed by διατίθημι (i. 1. 5).

13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: cf. i. 9. 8. — τεταγμένοι . . . κατεχόμενοι (sc. παρῆναι αὐτῷ). — σφόδρα . . . ἐχρήτο (G. 98, N. 2), *he found exceedingly obedient*, i. e. *these yielded him implicit obedience*.

15. οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν: as we say, *did not like very much*. — ἀμφὶ τά: cf. the note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

16. εὐθύς (G. 277, N. 1). — Γοργίας: the brilliant rhetorician of Leontini in Sicily, who lived about 485–380 B. C. His fee (ἀργύριον) was 100 minae (about \$1,800).

17. ἐπεὶ συνενέγετο αὐτῷ, *after he had been his pupil*: συνείναι τινι often means *to be one's pupil or disciple*. — φίλος . . . πρώτοις, *while he was on friendly terms with those of highest rank*. — εὐεργετῶν: cf. ἀλεξόμενος in i. 9. 11. — ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι, *expected to get* (G. 246).

18. ἐπιθυμῶν (G. 277, 5). — ἔνδηλον . . . εἶχεν, *he moreover made this also evident*.

Page 60. — τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ: cf. τὸ στυγνόν in § 11, and note. The principle of G. 139, 2, is illustrated often in this chapter.

19. καλῶν κάγαθῶν: as we should say, “*gentlemen*.” See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. καλο-κάγαθος. — αἰδῶ ἑαυτοῦ, *respect for himself* (G. 167, 3). — στρατιώταις (G. 187, end; 184, 1). Cf. § 8. — στρατιώτας: cf. θεοὺς in ii. 5. 39, and note. — φοβούμενος: what use of the part.? See G. 280, N. 1, and cf. δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν in § 21, and στέργων φανερὸς ἦν and ἔνδηλος ἐγγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων in § 23. See also i. 2. 11, and note.

20. πρὸς τὸ . . . δοκεῖν, *for being, and having the reputation of being, fit to govern* (G. 262, 1). This const. occurs several times below. ἀρχικόν modifies τινά understood, the subject of the infinitives. — ἐπαινεῖν (*bis*): subject of ἀρκεῖν (G. 259). — ἐτῶν (G. 169, 3).

21. μέγιστον: adverbially with δυναμένοις, *the most powerful*. — ἀδικῶν: cf. for the tense the note on i. 5. 11. So ἀδικούντα in § 20. — μὴ διδοῖη δίκην, *might not pay the penalty*: cf. ἔχει τὴν δίκην, ii. 5. 38.

22. ὧν (G. 152). — τῷ ἡλιθίῳ (G. 186). Cf. note on § 18, above (at the end).

23. τοῦτῳ, taking up the relative clause, is to be connected in construction with ἐπιβουλεύων. — ἐνδηλος ἐγίγνετο : how different from ἐνδηλος ἦν and ἐνδηλος ἐγένετο ? — οὐδενός (G. 177). — τῶν συνόντων, *his associates* : connect with καταγελῶν ; διελέγετο would require the dative (G. 186).

24. μόνος . . . ὃν, *he thought that he alone* (G. 138, N. 8) *understood that it was* (G. 280) *easiest*.

26. ἀγάλλεται ἐπί : below, with ἡγάλλετο, we have the simple dative of cause), τῷ δύνασθαι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 262, 2). For the formation of the three nouns after ἐπί, expressing quality, see G. 129, 7. — ψευδῇ : from ψευδής, not ψεύδος.

Page 61. — τῶν ἀπαιδευτών : partitive; cf. τῶν στρατευομένων, i. 2. 3, and note. — διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, *by slandering those who were already first* (in their friendship). — τούτους : takes up the relative clause.

27. τὸ . . . παρέχεσθαι (G. 199, 2) : obj. of ἐμψχανάτο. An obj. clause with ὅπως would be more common (G. 217). — ἐκ : cf. § 9. — ἡξίου, *expected*. — ἐπιδεικνύμενος (G. 277, 2). — ὅτι δύναίτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἄν : in direct form δύναμαι καὶ ἐθέλοιμι ἄν. — εὐέργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, *and he accounted it against (the person) an act of kindness* (G. 129, 3).

28. τὰ δὴ ἀφανῇ ἔξεστι ψεύδεσθαι, i. e. *there is room for false statements, it is true, about doubtful matters* (G. 159). — τάδε, *the following*. — παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ : with ὧν ; cf. for the facts stated i. 1. 10, and i. 2. 6, and note. — ξένων (G. 171, 3). — ἦδετο, i. e. *Ariaeus*.

29. οὐκ ἀπέθανε : to be connected with the genitive absol. above, which expresses *time* (G. 277, 1). — κεφαλάς : cf. § 1, and note. — ζῶν . . . ἐνιαυτόν, *after being tortured alive for a year*.

30. Note the interchange of the dual and plural in this section (G. 33, 1). — καὶ τοῦτῳ : emphatic repetition of the subject in the form of a pronoun. — αὐτούς is irregularly inserted before ἐμέμφετο, as this verb cannot govern the gen. τοῦτων, which by its position would naturally be the object of both the clauses with οὐτε. — ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεάς, *years from birth, years of age*.

The third and fourth books of the *Anabasis* give an account of the retreat of the Greeks, after the loss of their commanders at the river Zapatas, through a savage and mountainous country inhabited only by barbarians, until they beheld the welcome sight of the sea and reached Trapezus, a friendly Greek city on the Euxine. The three remaining books continue the narrative of the return of the Greeks from the arrival at Trapezus until the union of the Greek force with the army of Thibron in Asia Minor in the spring of 399 B. C. From the beginning of the third book, Xenophon himself becomes an important person in the councils of the Greeks.

## HELLENICA.

[Book II.]

THE Peloponnesian War lasted twenty-seven years, from B. C. 431 to 404, of which the first twenty are included in the narrative of Thucydides, and the remainder in the Hellenica of Xenophon. It arose from the fear and jealousy felt by Sparta and other Greek states at the power and glory of the Athenian Empire, aided by the uneasiness of the subject allies of Athens herself under what they believed to be an oppressive rule. Since the formation of the confederacy of Delos in 477 B. C. — which was a defensive union of voluntary allies under Athens as presiding city, made to secure the Aegean against the possibility of another Persian invasion, — the maritime power of Athens had steadily increased, and the smaller states had gradually been changed from independent allies to subjects of an imperial city. This change is well explained in Chapters XLIV. and XLV. of Grote's History of Greece. The splendor of Athens reached its height under Pericles, the most illustrious of her statesmen (who died in 429 B. C.); and her Dorian neighbors in Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and Thebes were now ready to combine for her destruction. In 432 B. C. the disputes between Corinth and Athens about the Corinthian colonies of Corcyra and Potidaea gave a plausible pretext for war, and war was at once declared. But, as Thucydides tells us, the war arose chiefly from the alarm felt by Sparta at the extent of the Athenian power, and her dread of its further increase. The war began in the spring of 431 B. C.; and it ended in the spring of 404 B. C. with the surrender of Athens, which is described in the first extract from the Hellenica. The power of Athens had been seriously crippled by the disastrous expedition to Syracuse (B. C. 415–413); it was finally broken by the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, as related in the chapter immediately preceding the narrative here given.

Aegospotami, or Goat's River, was a station on the European side of the Hellespont, opposite the Asiatic town of Lampsacus, which had just been captured by Lysander, the Spartan commander. It was "an open beach, without harbor, without good anchorage, without either houses or inhabitants or supplies"; and was chosen by the Athenian commander, merely to compel Lysander to an engagement. Each morning the fleet would cross the strait in line of battle, but the Spartan forces kept close under shelter of their port. Each day it withdrew to its anchorage, followed only by a few scout-boats to watch the disembarking; and then the men would stray on



shore for provisions, as far as Sestos, a few miles below. For five days the same scene was repeated. In vain Alcibiades, then living in exile near by, warned the generals of the exposed condition of their fleet, and urged that they should at least fall back to the safe and friendly harbor of Sestos; he was dismissed with the taunt that they were now in command, not he. "At length, on the fifth day, Lysander ordered the scout-ships, which he sent forth to watch the Athenians on their return, to hoist a bright shield as a signal as soon as they should see the ships at their anchorage, and the crews ashore in quest of their meal." The moment he beheld this welcome signal, he gave orders to his entire fleet to row across the strait as swiftly as possible, while the land forces marched along the strand in case of need. The fleet was taken by complete surprise. A squadron of twelve vessels under Conon, with the sacred ship called *Paralos*, escaped. All the remainder, nearly one hundred and seventy in number, were captured on the shore, defenceless, and seemingly without the least attempt on the part of any one to resist. This sweeping victory was won without the loss of a ship, almost without the loss of a man. Of more than thirty thousand prisoners, all the Athenians, some three or four thousand, were put to death. It had been charged against them that they had resolved, if victorious, to cut off the right hands of all their prisoners; and one of their generals, Philocles, had put to death the captured crews of two ships, allies of the Lacedaemonians, by hurling them headlong from a precipice. Charges like these, at the end of a long and obstinate war, account for the vindictive and bitter temper of the conquerors. (See Grote, Ch. LXV.)

The battle at Aegospotami was fought in September, B. C. 405. Byzantium surrendered directly after; Lysander permitting its garrison, with other Athenians found there or elsewhere, to sail to Athens, "but nowhere else," says Xenophon, "for he knew that the more there were gathered in the city and Piraeus, the sooner they would be brought to straits by famine."

**II. 3. Παράλον :** the *Paralos* ("Seaboard") and the *Salaminia* were two sacred vessels maintained by Athens, and used in the service of the government. They carried deputations to the sacred festivals, and embassies; and were sometimes used to bring state criminals to Athens, as in the case of Alcibiades in 415 B. C. — **νυκτός** (G. 179, 1). — **ἡ ξυμφορά** (= **συμφορά**), the disaster to the fleet at Aegospotami: **ξύν** is often used for **σύν** in the older Attic. — **Πειραιῶς**, the *Piraeus* was the principal port of Athens; it was fortified, and connected with the city (**ἄστυ**) which was four and a half miles distant by the two long walls of Pericles. (See the plan at the end of the volume.) — **ὁ ἕτερος . . . παραγγέλλον**: we should expect the gen. absol., but the nominative is in apposition with the



nominative implied in the verbal noun οἰμωγή (as if ὤμωζον had been used).

Page 62. — πενθοῦντες, agreeing with the subject implied in οὐδείς, as if it had been, *all were sleepless*. — πείσεισθαι, *that they were to suffer* (G. 246). — οἶα ἐποίησαν : see G. 247 (last example) and N. 2. — Μη-  
λίους : Melos, a Spartan colony, had been subjugated by Athens in 416 B. C. ; the men of military age were put to death, and the women and children were enslaved.

4. ἔδοξε, *they voted*, lit. *it pleased them* : the expression is the same which was used in the Athenian decrees, ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. — ἀποχῶσαι (v. ἀποχώννυμι), *to block the channel*. — περὶ ταῦτα, *thus employed*.

5. ναυσίν (G. 188, 5). — κατεσκευάσατο, *established*, i. e. in the form of "an oligarchy of ten native citizens, chosen from among his most daring and unscrupulous partisans, to govern in conjunction with the Lacedaemonian harmost." — τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, often without χωρία, a common expression for the coast of Thrace.

6. ἀφειστήκει, *had (already) revolted*. — Ἀθηναίων (gen. governed by ἀπο- in ἀφειστήκει, G. 193), *from the Athenians*. — σφαγὰς . . . ποιήσαντες, *having made a massacre of the aristocrats* : this massacre took place eight years before, but was recent enough to forbid the Samians to hope for mercy.

7. Δεκέλειαν : a post in Attica, whence Agis, the Spartan king, was now threatening the city. — ὅτι : understand λέγοντάς τινας, or ἀγγέλλοντας after ἔπεμψε. — προσπλεῖ (G. 243). — τοῦ ἑτέρου, *the other of the two kings*, Agis being one.

8. ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ, the common reading, would be an unusual expression for *in the gymnasium called the Academy*. Perhaps we may insert a comma after Ἀκαδημίᾳ, and take the following words in apposition with Ἀκαδημίᾳ, *in the Academy, viz. in the gymnasium thus named* : Many scholars consider the last three words as an interpolation. The Academy (i. e. the grove of the hero Academus) was northwest of the city, on the Sacred Way leading to Eleusis. It was afterwards made famous by Plato, who used it as his place of instruction ; and its name is thus a familiar word in all modern languages.

9. Ἀγιναν : in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B. C.), the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans with their families from their island, and the Spartans allowed them to settle in Thyrea. — ἀπέδωκε implies that Lysander restored Aegina to its former inhabitants. — ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστοις, *the greatest number which he was able (to collect)*, like ὡς πλείστοις or ὅτι πλείστοις. — ὡς αὐτως, *likewise*, adv. of ὁ αὐτός, *the same*. — Μη-  
λίοις : see note on § 3 above. — τῆς αὐτῶν, sc. χώρας (G. 141, N. 4). — πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, *he came to the Piræus and anchored there*.

10. τί χρή ποιεῖν (G. 243).

Page 63. — ὄντων (G. 277, 2.) — σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν, *security against suffering*, the μὴ strengthening the negative idea (of *prevention*) implied in σωτηρίαν (G. 263, 1). — ἀ . . . μικροπολίτας, *what they had not done for punishment, but had done unjustly* (ἡδίκουν) *through insolence to men of the small states*: ἀ is direct object of ἐποίησαν and cognate object of ἡδίκουν. — οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ, more emphatic than ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ — ἐκείνοις, the Lacedaemonians.

11. ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες: they passed a vote of amnesty, *restoring to full civic rights* all who had forfeited any of those rights (i. e. who had become ἄτιμοι) either as public debtors or by sentence of the law. After this vote, the citizens met in the acropolis and pledged themselves to harmony. — ἀποθησκόντων (G. 277, 5.) — ἔχοντες, *keeping*. — ἐπὶ τούτοις, *on these conditions*.

12. εἶναι, sc. ἔφη. — κύριος αὐτός (G. 136, N. 3 a): αὐτός is adjective pronoun, *himself* (145, 1).

13. πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς: as Sellasia is generally said to be *in* Laconia, πλησίον should perhaps be omitted here. — οἶα, sc. τοιαῦτα. — αὐτόθεν, *instantly*. — εἰ δέονται (G. 247). — τι, *at all*. — κάλλιον (G. 75).

14. ἦκον (G. 200, N. 3). — ἐνέπεσε, v. ἐμπίπτω. — ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν, *while they should be sending* (G. 247; 202, 1): ἕως πέμποιεν might have been used.

15. Λακεδαιμονίοις, dat. with εἰρήνην ποιέισθαι (G. 186, N. 1). — ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο, *on the terms which they offered* (G. 153, N. 1). — ἐκάτερον, i. e. *each of the two long walls* leading to the Piraeus; see note on § 20, below. — μὴ ἐξεῖναι depends on the verbal force of ψήφισμα (G. 261, 1, N.).

16. εἰ βούλονται, *if they wished* (G. 247): the direct form of the sentence following ὅτι would be, εἰ βούλεσθέ με πέμπαι, ἤξω εἰδὼς πότερον ἀντέχουσι, &c. — Λακεδαιμονίους is by *anticipation* object of εἰδὼς, instead of being subj. nominative of ἀντέχουσι. — ἥ connects βουλόμενοι (G. 277, 2) to πίστεως ἕνεκα (*in order to secure good faith*).

Page 64. — ὃ τι τις λέγοι, *whatever any one might propose* (G. 248). — ὁμολογήσειν (G. 202, 3, N.).

17. τέως, *for some time*. — κατέχοι and κελεύοι are instances of the rare imperfect optative, representing κατεῖχε and ἐκέλευε of the direct discourse, which would regularly be retained in such cases (G. 243, N. 1). — εἶναι, sc. ἔφη. — κύριος (G. 136, N. 3 a). — ὃν ἐρωτῶτο, *of what he* (Lysander) *was asked* (G. 153, N. 1), the direct form being ὃν ἐρωτῶμαι (indic.). — δέκατος αὐτός, a common expression for *one of ten*, generally applied to the principal person in the number mentioned.

18. ἀγγελοῦντα (G. 277, 3) ὅτι ἀπεκρίναιτο, *to inform them that he had replied*, &c. (the message was ἀπεκρίνατο Λύσανδρος, &c.).

19. ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ, *in what capacity*. — καλεῖν ἐκέλευον, *gave orders to*

*summon them.* — μή σπένδεσθαι, [urging] *to make no terms.* — ξῆαιρεν, sc. τὴν πόλιν.

20. οὐκ ἔφασαν . . . ἀνδραποδεῖν, *refused to [said they would not] enslave, &c.* It is said that, when a Theban delegate advocated the destruction of Athens, a Spartan replied, that he would not put out one of the eyes of Greece, and leave her ἑτερόφθαλμον. The same argument was used at Athens in favor of helping Sparta, after the battle of Leuctra, in 371 B. C. — ἀνδραποδεῖν (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — ἐποιοῦντο, *offered to make* (G. 200, N. 2). — ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ἔπεσθαι (G. 267). — τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη: probably only the two long walls leading to the Piraeus are meant; as the third or Phaleric wall, leading to the old port of Phalerum, was now of less account, since the Piraeus had been strongly fortified and connected with the city by two walls. — καθέντας (v. καθήμι), *restoring.* — τὸν αὐτόν, &c., lit. *regarding as foe and friend the same* with the Lacedaemonians.

21. μή ἤκοιεν, *lest they might have come* (G. 200, N. 3; 202, 2). — οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν, *for there was no longer room (χώρα) for delay.*

22. ἐφ' οἷς . . . ποιοῦντο, *the terms on which (they said) the L. offered to make peace; ποιοῦντο* representing ποιοῦνται of the direct form (G. 248, 4): see ἐποιοῦντο in § 20, above.

Page 65. — ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων, *to the music of flute-girls.*

III. 1. τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει, the year beginning at midsummer 404 B. C., the first year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad. — ὃν . . . οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι, *whom the Athenians do not name*, i. e. among the ἀρχοντες ἐπώνυμοι: the first of the nine Archons gave his name to the year, whence he was called the *Eponymus*. — ἀναρχίαν: the word ἀναρχία was entered in the public records for this year instead of the name of Pythodorus. — There are strong reasons for believing all of § 1, except τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, to be an interpolation; it will be seen that the other words break the construction of the sentence, which becomes grammatical only by taking τῷ . . . ἔτει with ἔδοξε in § 2.

2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, *the people voted*: see note on II. 4, above. — οἱ . . . συγγραψουσι (G. 236, N. 3), *who were to compile, &c.*: see note on § 11, below.

The omitted sections (4–10) refer to matters in Thessaly and Syracuse (under the tyrant Dionysius), to the surrender of Samos to Lysander, and to Lysander's return to Sparta.

11. ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγραψαί (G. 267), equivalent to οἱ συγγραψουσι in § 2. — πολιτεύουσιντο is an indirect statement (G. 248, 4) of the idea of the Athenians in choosing the Thirty: in § 2 the indicative of the direct form is retained. For the middle voice, see G. 199, N. 1. — αἰ ἐμελλον, *they continually delayed.*

12. ζώντας and ὄντας (G. 246; 280). — βαρεῖς, *odious.* — ὑπήγον θανάτου, *arraigned capitally* (G. 178, last example). — αὐτῶν (G. 173, 2, N.).



Page 66. — ὅσοι ξυνήδεσαν . . . ὄντες (G. 280, N. 2).

13. ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη . . . ὅπως βούλονται, *how they might get the power to treat the city as they pleased*; indirect question, representing πῶς ἂν ἐξείη ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βουλοίμεθα (G. 245; 247, N. 3). The first ὅπως is an indirect interrogative (like πῶς); the second is relative (G. 232, 4). — φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, *to help bring it about that guards should come to them, i. e. to aid in having guards sent them*: σφίσι refers to the Thirty (G. 144, 2). — ἕως . . . καταστήσονται (G. 239, 2; 248, 3). — θρέψειν (G. 17, 2, N.; 203, N. 2). — Compare αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι with σφίσιν ἐλθεῖν above: as Δύσανδρος is subject of ξυνέπραξεν, σφίσιν would have been incorrect here.

14. ὥς . . . πράττειν (G. 248, N.): the idea of the Thirty was ὥς πάντα ἐπαινῇ ἃ ἂν πράττωμεν (or ἃ πράττομεν), *that he may praise everything which we may do (or everything which we do)*. — τῶν φρουρῶν, depending on the omitted antecedent of οὗς. — ἥκιστα . . . ἀνέχεσθαι, representing ἥκιστα . . . ἀνέχονται, *they [are men who] least endure being thrust out* (unless ἂν is omitted by accident before ἀν-έχεσθαι, or unless ἂν in the next clause affects ἀνέχεσθαι also). — πλείστους ἂν . . . λαμβάνειν, *would get most adherents* (G. 211): the protasis is expressed in ἐπιχειροῦντας, = εἰ ἐπιχειροῦν (G. 226, 1).

15. ἐπὶ τὸ . . . ἀποκτείνειν (G. 262, 1). — ἅτε . . . φυγῶν, *inasmuch as he had been exiled* (G. 277, N. 2): φεύγειν often means *to be exiled*; hence ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου follows, as if the verb were passive (G. 197, 1). — εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο . . . εἰργάζετο, *in case one was honored, &c.* depends as protasis on ἀντέκοπτε λέγων, and not on εἷη: if it belonged to the indirect discourse after ὅτι, we should expect τιμᾶτο or τιμᾶται, &c.

16. οἰκέως ἐχρήτο, *treated as a friend*. — ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροῖη, *that it was not possible* (lit. *there was no room*). — μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιείσθαι, *not to put out of the way* (G. 283, 7): when we should have (affirmatively) ἐγχωρεῖ μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, we may have (negatively) οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. — ἡττόν τι belongs to ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. — ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, *as a tyranny*: the meaning is, *if you think that our large number prevents our government from being in spirit a tyranny (properly a rule of one), and from requiring the same vigilance as a tyranny, you are a fool*.

17. δῆλοι, *evidently* (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — ξυνιστάμενοι, *banding together* (in a threatening way).

Page 67. — εἰ μὴ . . . λήψοιτο, . . . ἔσοιτο, representing εἰ μὴ . . . λήψεται (G. 223, N. 1), ἀδύνατον ἔσται (G. 202, 4). — τις, *they* (by the English idiom); for we should say *unless we take* for εἰ μὴ τις λήψεται in the direct form.

18. συρρυσήσαν, v. συρρέω. — καταλέγουσι, *register them in the list* (κατάλογος, *catalogue*) mentioned in § 20. — τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ, *who (as they said) were to take part in the administration* (G. 277, 3): we might have had οἱ μεθέξουσι (see § 2, above).



19. *κοινωνούς ποιήσασθαι* belongs at once with *βουλομένους* and with *τρισχιλίους*, *that, wishing to make the best of the citizens partners, they made three thousand of them partners*. — *τό* before *πρώτον* belongs to *ποιήσασθαι*, which is the subject of *δοκοίη*: we should expect another infinitive after *ἔπειτα δέ*, but after the new verb *ὀρώ* the construction changes to that of the participle (G. 280). — *ὥσπερ . . . εἶναι*, *as if this number* (three thousand) *must needs be honorable men*: *ἔχειν ἀνάγκην τινὰ ποιεῖν τι* is *to be under some necessity of doing something* (G. 261, 1, N. 1). For the accusative absolute see G. 278, 2, N; for *ὥσπερ*, G. 277, N. 3. — *οἷόν τε εἴη* is irregularly added, by an entire change in the form of the sentence, as if *εἰ ἔχοι* had been used after *ὥσπερ* in the preceding clause, instead of the conditional participle *ἔχοντα* (G. 277, 4). Here *οἷόν τε ὄν* would have been the regular form after *ὥσπερ* (without *εἰ*), *as if it were possible*; *εἴη* representing *εἰ . . . ἐστίν* in the words of Theramenes, as *δοκοίη* (above) represents *δοκεῖ*. — *γενέσθαι* has *τινάς* understood as its subject, and is followed by *σπουδαίους* and *πονηροῦς* in the predicate. — *κατασκευαζομένους* is added, by a sort of apposition, to explain *πράττοντας*. — *ἦττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων*, *weaker than its subjects*.

20. *οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν*, &c. The meaning of this obscure description seems to be as follows. The Thirty held a general review of all the citizens capable of bearing arms; but while the Three Thousand were reviewed together in the market-place, the other citizens were scattered over the city in small detachments (*ἄλλων ἄλλαχού*). Then, while the ordinary citizens were dismissed for dinner or some other purpose (*ἀπεληλύθεσαν*), leaving their arms stacked at the places of review, a general call to arms was suddenly sounded (*κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα*); on which the Spartan garrison (*φρουροί*) and those citizens who understood the plot rushed and seized the arms of the unsuspecting citizens before the latter could return and secure them. — *ἐκείνοι*, those who were *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*. — *ἐν τῷ ναῷ*, *in the temple*, i. e. the Parthenon.

21. *ὡς ἔξόν*, *since (as they thought) it was in their power* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ὅ τι βούλιντο* (G. 248). — *τῶν μετοίκων*, *resident foreigners*, living at Athens chiefly for purposes of trade, without political rights; as many of them were rich, they were selected as victims. Lysias (in Eratosth. § 2) says that the Thirty seized *ten μέτοιχοι* in this way, including two poor men in the number lest the purity of their motives should be suspected. — *ἀποσημήνασθαι*, *to confiscate* (properly *to put a seal upon*).

During this reign of terror, the orator Lysias was arrested by order of the Thirty while he was entertaining friends at dinner; but he escaped from custody and fled to Megara. His brother Polemarchus, however, was arrested in the street by Eratosthenes, one of the tyrants, and was put to death without trial, and without so much as hearing the offence with which he was charged. The house of Polemarchus was plundered, even the golden ear-rings were torn from the ears of his wife, and his family were dependent on the charity of friends for the means of giving him a decent

burial. Lysias describes these terrible scenes in his oration against Eratosthenes, whom he afterwards prosecuted for the murder of Polemarchus.

22. **δύντινα βούλοιτο** (G. 248, 1) : this use of the optative must not be confounded with that seen in **παρ' ὧν λαμβάνοιεν**, below (G. 233). — **φάσκοντας**, *while we declare*.

Page 68. — **μηδέν** (G. 283, 4). — **τῷ παντί**, *in every way*.

23. **ἐμποδῶν τῷ ποιεῖν** (G. 262, 2 ; 185). — **ἰδίᾳ . . . ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον**, *privately ; one to this man, one to that*.

24. **πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ**, *more than is fitting* (lit. *seasonable*). — **μεθίστανται**, *are changing*. — **τοῖς . . . μεθιστᾶσι**, *those who are changing* (the government). — **διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι**, *because the city is ; διὰ τὸ . . . τεθράφθαι*, *because the people have been reared* (G. 202, 2).

25. **τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν**, *to such as we* (G. 153, N. 5). — **οἱ βέλτιστοι**, *the aristocracy (the better class)*, opposed to the **δήμος**, *the mass of the people*.

26. **ἐὰν αἰσθανώμεθα** (G. 225). — **ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα**, *put out of our way*.

27. **οἷς δύναται**, *by whatever means he can*. — **ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ**, *and (as a proof) that this is true*. See § 33, below. — **ἦν κατανοήτε** (G. 223) ; but **δταν βουλόμεθα** (G. 233). — **εἰ ἐγίγνωσκε**, *if he had this opinion* (G. 221), has two apodoses, **ἦν** and **ἐνομίζετο ἄν**. The latter has its main protasis implied in **δικαίως**, *if he were justly estimated*, to which it conforms (G. 222). See G. 227, 1 ; and *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 (a).

Page 69. — 28. **τοῦ δήμου**, *of the democracy*. — **τοῖς . . . εἰς ἡμᾶς**, *on those who were first brought before us* (for judgment), follows **ἐπιτιθέναι** (G. 187). — **αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει**, *by anacoluthon*, where **τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀρέσκεται** would be expected. — **ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ**, *in safety* (G. 139, 2).

29. **ὅσφ . . . φανεροῦ**, *by as much as what is secret is harder to guard against than what is open*. — **ἐχθιον** (v. **ἐχθρός**), *more hostile*. — **οὔτε ἐσπείσατο οὐτ' ἐπίστευσε**, *gnomic aorists* (G. 205, 2 ; see N. 1) : the subjunctive **λαμβάνωσι** (G. 233) depends on these aorists, as they are *primary* tenses (G. 201, end). — **τοῦ λοιποῦ**, *for the future* (G. 179, 1).

30. **ἀναμνήσω** (v. **ἀναμνήσκω**) here takes two accusatives (G. 164) ; this verb may also take the accusative and the genitive (G. 171, 2, N. 3). **κατὰ τὸν πατέρα**, i. e. *as his father had been*. — **τοὺς τετρακοσίους**, the oligarchy of the Four Hundred was established in Athens in 411 B. C. ; it lasted only four months. See Grote, Chap. LXII. — **ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ**, *a party hostile to the oligarchy*.

31. **κόθορνος**, a high buskin, worn by tragic actors : see the cut in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Cothurnus*. — **ἀποβλέπει**, *it is adapted to both feet*, as the man who is said to resemble it has an eye to both sides. — **ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν**, *the man (who is) fit to live* (G. 142, 2). — **οὐ . . . μεταβάλλεσθαι** : **οὐ** belongs (grammatically) to **δεῖ**, and **δεινὸν εἶναι προάγειν** and **μεταβάλλεσθαι** both depend on **ὅν δεῖ**, while **προνοεῖσθαι** depends on **δεῖ** alone. — **ἕως ἄν . . . καταστῶσιν**, *until they get into fair sailing* (G. 239, 2 ; 233). — **ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικώψῃ** : we should expect the optative, by assimilation to

πλείοιεν (G. 235), and we must translate it like one. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 1 (b).

32. *δήπου*, no doubt. — *πλείστοις . . . ἀπολωλέναι*, you are in part to blame that very many who were on the side of oligarchy have perished at the hands of the people: *αἰτίας τινί τινος* means the cause of something to some one; and *αἴτιος* may take the simple infinitive (G. 261, 1) as here, or the infinitive with *τοῦ* (G. 262, 2).

Page 70. — *ἀνέλθαι* (v. *ἀναιρέω*), to take up or recover. — *ναυμαχίᾳ*, the sea-fight at Arginusae, B. C. 406, in which the Athenian fleet was victorious, but sailed away leaving, besides the slain, more than a thousand perishing upon the wrecks: the commanders were afterwards brought to trial before the people, and six of them sentenced to death, for this neglect; but the trial was hasty and informal, and their execution was regarded by many as a public crime. — *ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς*, caused their death: Thera-  
menes, who was one of the commanders, joined in the accusation of the others.

33. *τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν*, gain; *τοῦ καλοῦ*, honor. — *τούτου*, gen. after *φείσασθαι*, v. *φείδομαι* (G. 171, 2). — *ἡμᾶς ταυτό*, the same to us (G. 165).

34. *καλλίστη*: Critias, who was a very able man, a kinsman of Plato and a friend of Socrates, wrote a treatise on the excellence of the Spartan constitution. — *ἀντὶ . . . πείθεσθαι*, instead of yielding to the majority. — *τοῖς πραττομένοις*, the acts of the government. — *ἂν* before *οἴεσθε* belongs to *ἀξιωθῆναι* (G. 211). — *πολλοὺς . . . ὑμῖν*, would make many of those who hold views (*γυγνωσκόντων*) hostile to you haughty. — *τῶν ἔξω*, the political exiles, those who afterwards restored the democracy.

35. *ἀποκτεῖναι* (G. 203). — *οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου*, i. e. my charge against them did not begin the controversy. — *προσταχθέν*, when it was ordered (G. 278, 2). — *ἀπολογούμενος*, alleging in defence. — *οὐδέ*, not even. — *μὴ ὅτι*, not to say, much less. — *ἔδοξα . . . λέγειν*, was acknowledged to have spoken (seemed to speak) reasonably.

Page 71. — *προέμενοι*, v. *προίημι*. — *ἀπολέσθαι* (G. 265). — *ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο*, sailed away (G. 279, 4, N.).

36. *παρανενομηκέναι*, has acted unlawfully (i. e. in accusing me); for which some editors suggest the milder *παρανενοηκέναι*, has erred in judgment. — *πενέστας*, serfs (like the Laconian Helots): the charge of exciting a democratic revolt would be particularly galling to a proud aristocrat like Critias.

37. *ὦν*, sc. *ἐκείνων*, depending on *μηδέν*. — *μηδὲν . . . γένοιτο*, may nothing of the kind be done here. — *ὑμᾶς*, obj. of *παῦσαι*, depose you (see § 43, below). — *δίκαιον εἶναι* explains *τάδε*, the obj. of *ὁμολογῶ*. — *εἰ κατανοήσετε*, see last note on § 31.

38. *μέχρι . . . καταστήναι*, until you became established in the magistracy (*βουλείαν*): *μέχρι τοῦ* belongs also to *ἀποδειχθῆναι* and *ὑπάγεσθαι* (cf. § 33); but with the present *ὑπάγεσθαι*, *μέχρι* must be translated while.

39. *Νικηράτου*, son of the famous Nicias, who fell in Sicily B. C. 413.



40. ὑπόπτως ἔξοιεν, *would be suspicious* (G. 202, 4). — ἔκαστον, see § 21. — τούτων ἀπολομένων (G. 226, 1) represents the protasis to ἔσονται: in the direct form, εἰν οὔτοι ἀπόλωνται, πολέμιοι ἔσονται.

Page 72. — 41. παρηρῶντο, *took away* (see § 20, above). — ὅπως . . . ὠφελείν, in appos. with τούτου ἕνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — μηδέν, *in nothing*. — ἔξην γάρ, &c., *for if they had wanted that, they might have left no one* (G. 222, N. 2) *by distressing [the city] with famine a little longer* (ἔτι): πιέσαντας agrees with the understood subj. of λιπεῖν (G. 138, N. 8 b).

42. οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι, *again, I did not approve*. — τὸ ἀντίπαλον, *the opposition*, of which the head-quarters were with the exiles. — οὕτως, *in this way*, referring to the following protasis. — εἰ . . . προσγενήσονται . . . φανήσονται: μέν and δέ show that εἰ belongs to both verbs. In the direct form the protasis would have the fut. indic. (G. 223, N. 1).

44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω and ἃ οὔτοι πράττουσιν are subj. of γίγνεσθαι. — ἄν belongs to βούλεσθαι (G. 211). — οὔτοι, i. e. the Thirty, represented by Critias. — αὐτούς, i. e. the exiles. — χαλεπὸν . . . χώρας, *that they think it would be hard to get even a footing anywhere in the country*: ἡγεῖσθαι, like νομίζειν, depends on οἶμαι (αὐτούς); and χαλεπὸν ἄν εἶναι (= χαλεπὸν ἄν ἦν) depends on ἡγεῖσθαι.

45. οἷος, [such a one] *as*, with infin. (G. 261). — ἃ, sc. ἐκεῖνα (G. 160).

Page 73. — τετρακοσίων, see § 30, above. — πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ, *any form of government* (G. 184, 2).

46. ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἄνισαν, *they (the Spartans) relaxed nothing of their hostility*. — οἱ ἀμφί, &c. the party of the oligarchy (G. 141, N. 3). — ἔρυμα: this was a fort on the mole (χῶμα) which commanded the entrance of the harbor of Piraeus, built under pretence of defending the city from a hostile fleet, but really to introduce a Lacedaemonian force to uphold the tyranny of the Four Hundred. — ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι, *make subject to themselves*.

47. ἀποκαλεῖ, *nicknames*. — ὡς πειρώμενον, *because (as he says) I try*. — τί ποτε, *what in the world?*

48. οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν, *not . . . until*. — καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι . . . μετέχοιεν, *until even the slaves, and those who for poverty would sell the state for a drachma, should receive a drachma*, i. e. have a seat in the Senate, the pay of a senator being a drachma (17 cts.) a day. Or the passage may mean simply, *until all who would sell the state for a drachma should have an opportunity to do so*, i. e. *should have a drachma offered them*. — εἶναι ἄν represents εἴη ἄν, and πρὶν . . . μετέχοιεν stands like a conditional relative sentence (G. 240, 1, third example). — οἱ . . . ἄν ἀποδόμενοι (G. 211) is equivalent to ἐκεῖνοι οἱ . . . ἄν ἀπόδοιεν. — ἐγγενέσθαι ἄν (= ἐγγένοιτο ἄν), *could arise or be formed*. — εἰς τὸ . . . τυραννέσθαι, *lit. into the [condition of] being under the tyranny of a few*. — τὸ μέντοι . . . πολιτεῖαν, *but with the help of the powerful, both by horses and by shields, to aid the government* (I say) *by these means*; all this is the subject of εἶναι, if the



text is correct. But διὰ τούτων is thus a mere repetition of what precedes, and the words have probably been corrupted in copying.

49. ἐὰν . . . ἐλεγχθῶ . . . πράττων . . . πεποιηκώς, *if I am (shall be) convicted of doing . . . or of having done* (G. 280): the apodosis δικαίως ἂν ἀποθνήσκειν, *that I should justly die*, has another protasis implied in παθῶν (= εἰ πάθοιμι); see note on § 27, above. — ἐσχατώτατα (double superlative), *extremest*.

50. δῆλη . . . ἐπιθουρβήσασα, *let it be seen that it applauded with favor* (G. 280, N. 1).

Page 74. — εἰ ἐπιτρέψει: some MSS. have ἐπιτρέψοι, corresponding to ἀποφεύξοιτο (see G. 247, N. 1). — οὐ βιωτόν, *intolerable*. — τοὺς . . . ἔχοντας, the young men mentioned in § 23. — φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ (G. 185). — δρυφάκτοις, *the railing*, which separated the Senate from the spectators.

51. προστάτου . . . οὗου δεῖ, *that it is the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be* (for τοιούτου οἷον εἶναι δεῖ). — ὅς ἂν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπη, *not to permit*: irregular for τὸ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. — οἷδε, the young men above mentioned. — τῶν ὄντων, dep. on μηδένα. — κυρίους θανατοῦν, *competent to put to death*. — ξυνδοκοῦν, *since it is agreed on* (G. 278, 2).

52. Ἑστία: the altar of Hestia (*Vesta*), the Goddess of the Household, "the senatorial hearth, the altar and sanctuary in the midst of the Senate house." — ἐπὶ Κριτία, *in the power of Critias*.

53. ὑμῶν, obj. of θαυμάζω (G. 171, 2). — καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, *and that too, when you know*. — οὐδέν (G. 160, 2). — τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου, *that of any one of you*.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα, *the Eleven*, who had charge of prisons and executions. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, *to seize Theramenes*. — ἐκείνοι, nom. without verb.

Page 75. — οὐ δεῖ, *to the proper place*, with ἀπαγαγόντες. — τὰ ἐκ τούτων, *what follows from this*, i. e. execution.

55. τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, *the space in front*.

56. δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε, *proclaiming aloud the treatment he was suffering*. — οὐκ . . . οἰμώξομαι, *shall I not suffer?* The word, as used by Satyrus, meant that he would *suffer for it* if he did not keep quiet. — τὸ λειπόμενον, i. e. the last few drops of hemlock. — ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, *jerking out*: the κότταβος was a sort of toast, in which the guest flung out a few drops of wine, at the same time calling the name of his beloved; the sound of the wine, as it struck the mark aimed at, was accepted as an omen, or sign of favor. — ἐκείνο τοῦ ἀνδρός, *this quality of the man*. — τό belongs to ἀπολιπεῖν, in appos. with ἐκείνο.

"The scene just described," says Mr. Grote, "is one of the most striking and tragical in ancient history. The atrocious injustice by which Theramenes perished, as well as the courage and self-possession which he displayed in the moment of danger, and his cheerfulness even in the prison, not inferior to that of Socrates three years afterwards, naturally enlist the warmest sympathies in his favor. But . . . he was a selfish, cunning,

and faithless man ; ready to enter into conspiracies, yet never foreseeing their consequences ; and breaking faith to the ruin of colleagues whom he had first encouraged, when he found them more consistent and thorough-going in crime than himself."

IV. 1. προείπον μὴ εἰσιέναι, i. e. *excluded or expelled from the city*. — ἦγον, *arrested* : it was said that as many as fifteen hundred prisoners suffered death. Among the banished were the most eminent intellectual teachers, native or foreign, Socrates being hardly spared. — φευγόντων, genitive absolute. — ἐνέπλησαν (v. ἐμπίπλημι), i. e. the Thirty *caused Megara, &c. to be filled with the fugitives* (ὑποχωρούντων).

2. ὡς σὺν, *with about*. — Φυλὴν, *Phyle*, a frontier fortress among the hills, on the road to Thebes, about fifteen miles from Athens.

Page 76. — 3. τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, *during the night* (G. 179, 1) *and on the next day* (G. 189). — ὑπό, [taken] *by*.

4. λεηλατήσοιεν, *would forage* (i. e. those in Phyle). — φυλάς : the Attic army was mustered according to the ten tribes.

5. συνειλεγμένων (v. συλλέγω), *as there were gathered*, gen. abs. with περὶ ἑπτακοσίων.

6. ἀνίσταντο, i. e. the forces of the Thirty. — ὅποι, *to* [the post] *where* (after ἀνίσταντο, which implies motion), i. e. *each to his own work*. — ὅπλων, *encampment*. — ἔστι μὲν οὓς, *some* (G. 152, κ. 2).

Page 77. — 8. ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν, *under guard of the cavalry*. — πόσοι εἶεν, i. e. the people of Eleusis. — προσδεήσονται (G. 243), *how much additional garrison they would need* (i. e. in consequence of the seizure of Phyle). — τὸν αἰὲ ἐξιόντα, *every one as he went out*. — ξυνειλημμένοι (v. συλλαμβάνω), *seized*. A similar visit and seizure of prisoners was made at Salamis. — τοῖς ἑνδεκα, i. e. for execution.

9. Ὀιδεῖον : not the Odeum of Pericles, but the older building near the Ilissus, once used as a theatre. — τοὺς ἄλλους, those not mentioned in § 4 and § 6. — ταῦτ' αὖ ἡμῖν, *the same with us* (G. 159, κ. 2 ; 186, κ. 2).

10. ὅσοις . . ἔμελεν, *to such as cared only for gain*. The number thus put to death, says Lysias, was about three hundred. — ἐβοήθουν, *went to their relief* (i. e. that of their party in Piræus). — ἔπειτα, i. e. on approaching the Piræus. — ἀναφέρουσιν, *leading up*, i. e. to the high ground.

11. μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτοὺς, *not to let them come up*, i. e. upon any of the high land of the peninsula. — κύκλος, the whole *circuit* of the fortifications which surrounded the Piræus. The name Piræus was given to the whole peninsula with its three harbors ; this included Munychia, which was the high hill on the east side of the peninsula, directly overlooking the smallest of the three harbors, the little bay of Munychia. The town of Piræus occupied part of the larger lower hill south of the great harbor (the harbor called Piræus), and extended across the isthmus along the shore, and over the low land west and northwest of Munychia, to the place at which the two long walls from Athens joined the fortifications of the Piræus. In

this northern part of the town of Piraeus was the market-place named for Hippodamus of Miletus, who was employed by Pericles to lay out the new town of Piraeus. Hippodamus astonished the Athenians by his broad straight streets, crossing each other at right angles. One of these was the street here mentioned, leading from the great square (the ἀγορά) up the hill of Munychia; on which hill stood the temple of Artemis Munychia and that of the Thracian Artemis (Bendis). [On many maps the relative positions of Munychia and Piraeus are reversed, and Phalerum is wrongly made one of the three harbors of the peninsula of Piraeus.]

Page 78. — ἐγένοντο . . . ἀσπίδων, *they formed* [a body] *not less than fifty shields in depth*. — ἄνω, *upwards*, to Munychia.

12. ἀντανέπλησαν, i. e. Thrasybulus and his men *filled* the upper part of the same street to oppose them. — ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *behind them*. — αὐτόθεν, *from that quarter*. — ἐν ᾧ, *while*. — θέσθαι, *to rest* the shield on the ground. — στάς, *taking his stand* (not standing) : see G. 200, N. 5 b.

13. εἰς τῶν προσιόντων, &c., *there are among those who are advancing against us* (G. 169, 1), *first, those on the right, whom, &c.* — ἡμέραν πέμπτην, *four days ago* (G. 161, N.). See Anab. 4, V. 24. — ἀπεσημαίνοντο, *marked for death* : this word usually means *to put a seal on* property taken for confiscation (see above, II. 21, with note). — οὐ, *where*, explained in the next section.

14. ἔχοντες . . . καθέσταμεν, *we stand in front of them, with arms in our hands*. — ὅτι . . . ξυνελαμβανόμεθα, *because we were seized while dining, &c.* — οἱ δὲ καί, *some of us also*. — οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, *not only when we were guilty of no wrong* : lit. *not to speak of our being guilty of any wrong* : in full οὐ λέξω ὅπως (= ὥς) ἀδικοῦντες ἐφυγαδενόμεθα. — χειμῶνα, &c., see §§ 3 and 6 (above).

Page 79. — 15. ἐξιζόμεθα, v. ἐξικνέομαι : it governs the gen. by G. 171, 1.

16. ᾤετο ἂν τις, *one might suppose* (G. 226, 2). — ἁμαρτήσεται, *will miss* : the object αὐτῶν (antec. of ὧν, § 238) is understood. — δραπετεύουσιν, *will skulk*, a word used in contempt of fugitive slaves. — ἐναλλομένους, *leaping or rushing upon them*, agrees with ἡμᾶς, the omitted subject of ἀνατρέπειν, instead of agreeing with ἡμῖν understood after ἐξέσται (G. 138, N. 8).

17. ἕκαστός τις . . . ὧν, *each man shall be conscious to himself of being the main cause of victory* (G. 217). — αὕτη, *she*, viz. νίκη. — οἷς εἰσί, *to those who have them* (G. 153, N. 1). — ἡμῶν, gen. part. after οἷς. — ἐπιδώσει (G. 232, 3), v. ἐφοράω. — μνημείου . . . τεύξεται, *for none so rich, who shall win so fair a sepulchre* : the construction is idiomatic ; understand οὕτω before καλοῦ. — Ἐνυάλιον, *the God of battles*, a name of Ares (or Mars). — ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν, *in requital of the insults we have borne* : the active construction would be, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζειν (G. 159, N. 4 ; 153, N. 1).



18. ὁ μάντις : the article is used because the *prophet* or *diviner* had his official place in the host. — ἐπειδὰν . . . δοκεῖ, the words of the diviner.

19. τέθαπται, *lies buried*. — τῶν δέκα, chiefs of the force established by the Thirty. — Χαρμίδης : he was an uncle of Plato, from whom one of Plato's dialogues is named. — πολλοί, *many* [of both parties].

Page 80. — 20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, *the herald of the* [Eleusinian] *mysteries*, belonging to one of the ancient priestly families. (See *Eumolpidae* in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities). — κατασιωπησάμενος, *having proclaimed silence*. — ξυγχορευταί, *companions in the choral dance*.

21. πρὸς, *in the name of*. — ὀλίγου δεῖν, *almost* (G. 268). — ἀπεκτόνασιν, v. ἀποκτείνω. — μηνῖν, v. μήν. — δέκα ἔτη, the last ten years of the Peloponnesian war, the Decelean war.

22. τῶν ἀποθανόντων, part. gen. after ἔστιν οὗς. — ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . κατεδακρύσαμεν, *some of them we too greatly lamented*. — οἱ λοιποί, *the survivors* of the Thirty.

23. ξυνεκάθηντο, v. συγκάθημαι. — διεφέροντο, *disputed, wrangled*. — βιαιότερον (sc. τοῦ προσήκοντος), *unusually or unduly violent*.

Page 81. — τοῖς τριάκοντα, dat. after πείθεσθαι. — τὸ τελευταῖον, *finally* (G. 160, 2). — ἐκείνους καταπαῦσαι, *to depose them* (the Thirty).

24. Ἐλευσινιάδε (G. 61), see § 8, above. — τῶν ἐν ἄστει, *those in the city* (gen. following ἐπεμέλοντο). — ἐφώδενον, *they patrolled*. — τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας (G. 161), *after dark*. — τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον, *but towards morning*, an exception to the preceding statement.

25. οὔτινες, [to] *whoever* : understand an antecedent dative after ἔσεσθαι, depending on πιστὰ δόντες, *giving pledges that all who, &c. should have equal rights*. The direct discourse would be [πάσιν] οὔτινες ἂν ξυμπολεμήσωσι, καὶ ἐὰν ξένοι ᾧσιν, ἰσοτέλεια ἔσεται.

Many exiles came to their aid, others sent money or arms, — the orator Lysias sending two hundred shields and two thousand drachmas in money, and hiring, besides, 300 fresh soldiers ; there was one loan of five talents in money (\$ 5,400), afterwards repaid by the people.

26. ἔστιν ὅτε, *at times*. — ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο, *roughly handled foragers*. — Αἰξωνέων, *men from Aexone*, a town (or *deme*) on the coast of Attica. — πολλῶν ἱππέων, i. e. many of the men under Lysimachus.

27. τῶν ἱππέων, possessive gen. (sc. ὄντα) after Καλλίστρατον.

Page 82. — εἰ δὲ . . . δεῖ εἰπεῖν, *if I may be permitted to speak* : the apodosis (ἐρῶ, *I will speak*) is omitted. — τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ depends on τοῦτο. — κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, *over the race-course leading from the Lyceum*. The Lyceum was a gymnasium just outside of the city walls on the east ; and it was used in the next century by Aristotle as his place of instruction, as the Academy was used by Plato (see note on II. 8, above).



For this reason the word is a familiar one in modern languages, though in a somewhat different meaning. — *δπου βούλοιτο* (G. 248). — *τοῦ δρόμου*, partitive gen. after *δπου*. — *πράγματα*, *trouble*.

28. *δτι . . . εἴη*, *that it was possible* (not *would be*): the direct discourse was *οἷόν τέ ἐστιν . . . ἐὰν ἀποκλεισθῶσιν* (G. 223). — *αὐτοῖς*, the oligarchy at Athens.

29. *μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ*, *were highly elated with hopes of Lysander*. — *προχωροῦντων* (sc. *τῶν πραγμάτων*), *when matters were thus going on*. — *εἰ . . . εὐδοκίμησοι . . . ποιήσοιτο* (G. 248, 2; 226, 4, N. 1). *πέισας*, *by consent of*. — *φρουράν* (in its Spartan sense), *an armed force*.

Lysander's selfish policy had already disgusted the general feeling of the Greeks; and a party in Sparta, jealous of his authority, were resolved that he should not plant his own creatures a second time as rulers of Athens. On his arrival at Athens, Pausanias was beset with prayers for protection and redress by those who had suffered from the tyranny of the oligarchs, which strongly inclined him to make terms with the patriot party.

30. *δτι ἐγίγνωσκον*, *because they were of opinion*: they suspected that Pausanias meant to make Attica a separate province of Sparta (*οἰκείαν καὶ πιστήν*). — *Ἀλιπέδω*, the low land near Piraeus.

Page 83. — 31. *ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν*, *to their homes*. — *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν*, *only for appearance's sake* (lit. *as far as shouting went*, implying *with no real purpose*). One preposition is superfluous, and the simpler *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς* is found in later Greek. — *δῆλος . . . ὦν* (G. 280, N. 1). — *κωφὸν λιμένα*, *the still harbor*, probably the small cove west of the principal harbor of Piraeus. — *πῇ εὐαποτέχιστος*, i. e. where was the best line for blockading the Piraeus (i. e. on the side towards Athens).

32. *ἐνέντας* (v. *ἐνίημι*), *at full speed*, used intransitively. — *τοὺς . . . ἥβης*, i. e. those who had been ten years of the military age; referring to the *civic ἐφηβία*, which began in the eighteenth year.

33. *ἐπὶ πόδα*, *backward* (without turning). — *οἱ τεθαμμένοι* (v. *θάπτω*) *ἐν Κεραμειῳ*, i. e. *whose graves are in the Ceramicus*. The outer Ceramicus is described by Thucydides as "the most beautiful suburb" of Athens. It was northwest of the city, and the road to the Academy (see note on II. § 8, above) passed through it. On this road (as on the Roman Via Appia) were many monuments of illustrious men, especially of such as had fallen in battle.

34. *ἐπὶ ὀκτώ*, *eight deep*. — *ἐξεώσθησαν*, v. *ἐξωθέω*. — *ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς*: this must refer to the marshy district at the junction of Piraeus with the mainland, not to either of the Attic demes called *Ἀλαί*.

Page 84. — 35. *οὐδ' ὥς*, *not even under these circumstances*: *ὥς* for *οὕτως* is rare in Attic prose (G. 29, N.). — *οἷα* is object of *λέγοντας*, which belongs to *πρέσβεις*. — *δίωστη*, *divided* (by making discord). "It seems plain that this is not a correct account. Pausanias did not create this dis-

cord, but found it already existing, and had to choose which of the parties he would adopt. The peace-party was already uppermost in Athens, and it was both easiest, and most for the Lacedaemonian interest, to follow the course he did." Grote.

36. νομίζεται, *it is according to* [Spartan] *custom*. — τῆς γνώμης ὄντες, *being of the opinion*.

37. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, *i. e. those representing the government*, the Ten (§§ 23, 24), the first embassy being sent by Pausanias. — χρήσθαι ὃ τι βούλονται, *to deal with as they pleased* (G. 248). — ἀξιοῦν, *thought fit*.

38. ἔχειν (G. 267). — ἀπιέναι, &c., *i. e. no man should be molested for past acts, except the Thirty, &c.*

39. διήκε (γ. διήμι), *disbanded*.

Page 85. — 40. ἐκ τοῦ ἄσπετος ἄνδρες, *i. e. those who had fought against Thrasybulus*. — γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, *to come to know yourselves*. — ἐπὶ τίνι . . . φρονητέον . . . ὥστε, *on what ground you have a right to be (so) presuming, as, &c.* — δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, *i. e. you have no claim on the score of justice*.

41. ἢ ὥς, *than the manner in which*. — οἳ γε would naturally be the subject of οἴχονται, but it is disregarded after the clause ὥσπερ . . . παραδιδόασιν, and κάκεῖνοι is introduced (by *anacoluthon*) after οὕτω. The subject of παραδιδόασιν is τινές understood. — ἀπιόντες (G. 279, 4, N.).

42. ὦ ἄνδρες: here he addresses his own followers, who had just taken the oath in the Acropolis. — οὐ . . . ἀξιῶ . . . παραβῆναι οὐδέν, *I adjure you not to violate any part of the oath which you have taken* (ὦν οὐδέν = οὐδὲν ἐκείνων ᾧ). Οὐκ ἀξιῶ sometimes means *I ask some one not to do something* (like οὐ φημι, *I deny*): here οὐδέν (not μηδέν) merely repeats the negative idea expressed in οὐ . . . ἀξιῶ. — ἐπιδείξαι depends on ἀξιῶ (without οὐ).

43. ἀρχάς, *magistrates (authorities)*: the chief Archon then chosen, the *Eponymus* of the year 403 – 402, was Euclides, whose year is a famous era in Athenian history. — τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι: see § 24, above. — ἡ μὲν, a formula often prefixed to an oath. — μὴ μνησικακήσειν, *not to remember evil*, *i. e. they declared an amnesty* (α- and μνήστις). A part of the oath was as follows: καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα. — ὁμοῦ πολιτεύονται, *they conduct the government in harmony*, *i. e. the oligarchical party and the democracy*.

After these events, Athens was still left comparatively weak, disabled by the loss of her fortifications and of the long walls connecting the city with the port, until the great naval victory of Conon at Cnidus (B. C. 394) enabled him to rebuild the walls, and restore to the city something of its ancient glory and strength.

## [Book VII.]

THE peace of Antalcidas (B. C. 387) had left Sparta still supreme in Greece. But a few years later (B. C. 379) the patriot party in Thebes, by a fortunate surprise, expelled the Spartan garrison, and made the city independent. Under Epaminondas, her one great general and statesman, Thebes rapidly rose to power; and for nearly ten years after the great victory of Leuctra (B. C. 371) she held the first rank among the Grecian states. In 369 B. C. Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus, and established Arcadia as an independent power, with a strong military frontier against Sparta. It was to secure this that the second invasion was made, resulting in the battle of Mantinea, which closed the long period of the domestic wars of independent Greece. The battle of Mantinea was fought in 362 B. C.

Mantineia was a town about forty miles north of Sparta, and the head-quarters of the Peloponnesian army. Tegea was about ten miles farther south. Epaminondas had made a rapid march upon Sparta, and had actually entered the outskirts of the city, which was without walls; and, says Xenophon, "had not a Cretan providentially (*θεία τι νη μοίρα*) come and told Agesilaus that the army was at hand, he would have taken the city, all defenceless, like a nest of young birds. But Agesilaus was warned, and beforehand in the city; and the Spartans, though very few, held their ground in good order." At this point the narrative begins.

V. 11. Page 86. — *ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο*, after he had entered, &c. — *ταύτη*, antecedent of *ὅπου*. — *βληθήσεσθαι*, to be hit with missiles. — *οὐδ' ὅπου . . . πολλοὶ ὄντες*, nor where they (the Thebans) being many would have no advantage in battle over the small number (of the enemy). — *τοῦτο λαβὼν . . . κατέβαινε*, &c., i. e. he took possession of this place (and held it until he was driven from it, as is described in § 12), and descended to the low land, without going up (farther) into the city. Sparta was built on a line of hills along the right bank of the Eurotas. Epaminondas must have ascended these hills to enter even the outskirts of the city; and he was obliged to descend to the bank of the river to take the road to Tegea and Mantinea.

12. *τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γινόμενον*, what ensued, accusative (G. 160, 1) for the regular genitive (G. 173, 2): *ἐντεῦθεν* refers to *χωρίον λαβὼν*, not to *κατέβαινε*. — *ἔξοστι*, we may. — *τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις* (G. 187), the desperate (lit. those who have lost all thought, i. e. for life). — *Ἀρχίδαμος*, son of the great king Agesilaus. — *ὅπερ . . . κώλυμα*, i. e. difficult ground. — *πῦρ πνέοντες* refers to the excitement of the Thebans on actually entering Sparta.

13. *περιεγέγραπτο*, a limit had been set (lit. a line had been drawn). — *αὐτοῖς*, the Spartans (see beginning of § 12).



14. οἱ Ἀρκάδες, i. e. the Peloponnesian army at Mantinea. — ἄλλως τε καί, *especially*. — εὐτυχηκόσι, *victorious*, in the conflict just narrated. — τῶν δέ, &c., *while they* (the Thebans) *had failed* (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — δεηθείς αὐτῶν, *urging them*.

Page 87. — εἰκός, sc. εἴη or ἐστίν. — ἔξω, *abroad, exposed*.

15. ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος: they had accordingly marched between fifty and sixty miles the first day; and after passing the night at the Isthmus, they had come nearly forty miles without food that day (ἀνάριστοι). — ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες, i. e. *they happened to arrive* just as the Thebans were coming up from Sparta.

16. αὖ, *as well*, i. e. as that of the Spartans. — δυστυχήματος: the Corinthians were at peace with Thebes, and probably inflicted some annoyance on this hostile troop. — ὥς εἶδον: the Thebans were within a mile of the town. — συνέρραξαν (v. συρρήγνυμι and συρράσσω). — ἐρῶντες, *eager*.

17. αἵτιοι . . . σωθῆναι, *it was through them that the Mantineans saved all their out-door possessions*. — ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί: among them was Gryllus, son of Xenophon, who was represented in a picture made at the time in the act of killing the Theban commander; hence the story that in the battle which followed he slew Epaminondas with his own hand. — δῆλον ὅτι (sc. ἀπέκτειναν), *manifestly*, is parenthetical, as usual. — οὐ προήκαντο (v. προίημι, G. 110, III. 1, N. 1). *did not leave unburied*. — ἦν οὓς (G. 152, N. 2), *some, imperfect of ἔστιν οὗ*.

18. Ἐπαμεινώνδας would naturally be subject of some verb meaning *thought*: but after the long participial sentence, the construction changes to ὥστε οὐκ ἔδόκει αὐτῷ. — εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι οἷς ἦλθε . . . πολιορκήσονται: the direct discourse would be εἰ καταλείψω οἷς ἦλθον (G. 247 with N. 2) . . . πολιορκήσονται. — ἔσοιτο λελυμασμένος represents ἔσομαι λελυμασμένος, *I shall have ruined*, periphrastic fut. perf. mid. of λυμαίνω (G. 109, 6, N.); the fut. perf. act. is generally formed thus (G. 118, 3). — δόξῃ (G. 184. 2).

Page 88. — τοῦ συνεστάναι, *of the alliance* (between those mentioned). — οὐκ . . . δυνατόν: as if he had come with any other object than fighting. — ἀναλύσοιτο, *would make good* (properly, *undo, cancel, hence, restore to the former condition*): see G. 199, 2. — πειρωμένῳ (sc. ἑαυτῷ), after καλῇ.

19. ὥς . . . ἀποκάμνειν, *so as to shrink from no labor* (G. 266, N. 1).

20. ὥς . . . ἔσομένης, *because, as he said, there was to be a battle* (G. 277, N. 2; 278). — ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ῥόπαλα, probably, *painted the figure of a club* (as the arms of Thebes, in memory of Hercules as a Theban hero) *on their shields*, thus identifying themselves with the Thebans (ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες). There is equally good authority for reading ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες, which would imply a sneer at the Arcadian “heavy-infantry,” armed only with clubs (see Grote’s note), and ἐπεγράφοντο would then seem to mean, *they inscribed their shields (?) as if they were Thebans*, i. e. with the letter Θ.



21. τὴν συντομωτάτην (sc. ὁδόν), *the directest way*. — τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρη, *the hills on the west* are that part of the range of Maenalus which faces Tegea. The great eastern plain of Arcadia, which is two thousand feet above the sea and surrounded by high mountains, may be compared in its shape to an hour-glass, its two parts — the plain of Mantinea and the plain of Tegea — being separated by a narrow passage about a mile wide. When Epaminondas marched with the greater part of his army from Tegea (see § 14), instead of taking the direct road to Mantinea (ten miles distant), he turned to the left, approaching the hills which enclose the plain of Tegea on the northwest.

22. πρὸς τῷ ὄρει . . . ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς refer to the part of Maenalus which was near the narrow pass leading into the valley of Mantinea.

Page 89. — ἐπὶ κέρως, *in column*. — τὸ ἔμβολον, *the attacking column*: ἔμβολον commonly means the pointed beak with which a ship makes an attack (see § 23). This attack was made from the Theban left wing. — πεισομένους (sc. τισίν), *men likely to suffer*.

23. ἀντίπρῳρον, “*bows on*.” — τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ, i. e. the Thebans and other Boeotians, under Epaminondas himself. — τὸ ἀσθενέστατον, i. e. the Argives. — ὥσπερ . . . βάθος, i. e. “only with the ordinary depth of a phalanx of hoplites (four, six, or perhaps eight deep).” Grote. — πεζῶν ἀμίλπτων, *infantry mixed with the cavalry*, light-armed, and running beside the horses.

24. νενικηκὼς ἔσεσθαι, fut. perf. (see note on § 18, above, and G. 118, 3). — ἐπειδὰν . . . ὀρώσι (G. 232, 3) refers to the fut. ἐθελήσοντας as its apodosis: it might have been opt. (G. 248). — τὸ ἐχόμενον, *the next adjacent part of the army*. — ὡς . . . ἐπικεῖσιντο (G. 202, 4) depends as indirect discourse on φόβον; *fear that these would attack them*, for the common construction, *fear lest they might attack*, φόβον μὴ ἐπικεῖντο. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 46, N. 6 (a). — εἰ βοηθήσαιεν represents ἐὰν βοηθήσωσιν of the direct discourse (G. 247). — συμβολήν, *the attack*.

Page 90. — 25. φυγόντων αὐτοῖς, *having taken flight for them* (G. 184, 3), i. e. when they had put them to flight. — διέπεσον, &c., *they slipped through the retreating enemy in their terror*. — ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, i. e. of the enemy.

“The calculations of Epaminondas were completely realized. The irresistible charge, both of infantry and cavalry, made by himself with his left wing, not only defeated the troops immediately opposed, but caused the enemy’s whole army to take flight. It was under these victorious circumstances, and while he was pressing on the retiring enemy at the head of his Theban column of infantry, that he received a mortal wound with a spear in the breast.” Grote.

26. τοῦναντίον οὗ, *the opposite of what* (G. 153, N. 2).

27. οὐδὲν πλέον: the campaign of Mantinea, however, secured the

independence of the Arcadian allies of Thebes, and of the anti-Spartan frontier, including Messene.

The death of Epaminondas — one of the purest of patriots, and the most eminent military genius of Greece — was soon followed (361–360 B. C.) by that of Agesilaus, the last of the kings who maintained the ancient glory of Sparta. In the next year (360–359 B. C.) Philip of Macedon ascended the throne, and the whole course of Greek history was suddenly changed. The struggles for supremacy among the Greek states gave way to a long and hopeless struggle for independence, which ended in the fatal battle of Chaeronea (338 B. C.) and the subjugation of Greece to Macedonia.

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### MEMORABILIA.

THE trial and death of Socrates took place in the year B. C. 399. At this time Xenophon was still absent, on the expedition recorded in the “Anabasis.” Soon after his return to Athens, while his grief and indignation were still fresh, he wrote that interesting defence of his master’s reputation, and illustration of his manner of teaching, given in the “Memorabilia” (*Memorials*). In this work he begins with a full and distinct denial of the charges made at the trial, followed by personal anecdotes of Socrates and specimens of his conversation. Xenophon is chiefly anxious to prove that he was a good citizen, in religious belief as well as in way of life; while the later accounts given by Plato in his dialogues show him much more clearly as an original and independent thinker. Both agree in testifying the highest veneration and the warmest personal regard.

Socrates was about seventy years old when brought to trial. He had served the state as a soldier in several campaigns in the Peloponnesian war; and he once saved the life of Alcibiades — one account says, of Xenophon also — in battle. He also served as presiding officer in the public assembly when the generals who had been victorious at Arginusae (406 B. C.) were put on trial on the charge of neglecting the shipwrecked and the dead after the battle; and the cool determination of the old philosopher was never better shown than by his stern refusal to put the question of condemnation to the people in an illegal form. (See note on § 18, below.) He had also incurred the hate and distrust of the Thirty Tyrants by resisting their tyranny; and the revolution under Thrasybulus saved his life from their resentment.

The general feeling against Socrates was part of the conservative reaction after the democracy was restored. Twenty years before this time Aristophanes had ridiculed him in the "Clouds," as one of the contemptible but dangerous innovators in morals and belief; and the prejudice then so pointedly expressed seems to have been felt at the time of his trial. For at least a quarter of a century he had been in the habit of discussing with all sorts and conditions of men, in streets and public walks or at private entertainments, in a manner very pointed and free, on any question of opinion or practice that might come up. In particular, he was unsparing in forcing his antagonists to push their conclusions to absurd lengths, and driving them into a corner by his sharp questions. In this way he made some jealous and bitter enemies. Besides, he had been intimate with several men afterwards declared to be public enemies, — particularly Alcibiades, the most dangerous of politicians, and Critias, chief of the Thirty Tyrants. The formal charge against him was, that he did not acknowledge or worship the Gods whom the city worshipped, but introduced new divinities of his own; and that he corrupted the youth of Athens. Each of these counts is distinctly met and replied to in this defence, which gives us the most clear and interesting portrait that has been left us of any of the remarkable men of antiquity. The portion here given is the first chapter of the first book, with the closing paragraph of the work.

I. 1. τίσι λόγοις, *by what reasonings* (G. 149, 2). — οἱ γραψάμενοι, *those who made the charge*. The middle γράφεσθαι in Attic commonly means *to indict*. The accusers of Socrates were Meletus, a poet of poor reputation; Anytus, a wealthy tradesman, who resented the influence of Socrates to draw his son from his own trade of tanner; and Lycon, a popular orator and demagogue. Meletus is said to have been put to death, and the others banished, a few years later, when the people repented of their judgment. — ἡ γραφή, *the bill of indictment*. — τῇ πόλει (G. 184, 3).

Page 91. — οὓς . . . νομίζει, *not regarding as Gods those whom the city so regards*. See note on Anab. 4, II. 23.

2. ὡς ἐνόμιζεν depends on the verbal noun τεκμηρίω. — μαντικῇ, *divination*. — διετεθρύλητο, *it was notorious*. — τὸ δαιμόνιον, *the divinity*: the *daemon* of Socrates, as he believed, manifested itself by signs or indications, never urging him to any act, but constantly warning him against things wrong or dangerous. — ὅθεν δὴ, *on which very ground, indeed*.

3. τῶν ἄλλων, *than others* [do]. — φήμαις, *omens from words*; συμβόλοις, *from signs or accidents*; θυσίαις, *from sacrifices*.

4. ξυνόντων, *associates*. — ὡς, *on the ground that* (G. 277, N. 2). — τοῖς . . . συνέφερε, *to those persuaded by him, it was an advantage*: μὴ (G. 283, 4). — μετέμελε, *repented* (G. 184, 2, N. 1).



5. *ἔδοκει ἄν*, *he would have seemed*, supply *εἶναι*. The imperfects here and in the next sentence refer to past time (G. 222). — *εἶτα*, *then, after all this*. — *ταῦτα*, i. e. as to the future.

6. *ἀλλὰ μὲν*, *but moreover*. — *τάδε*, *the following* (see G. 148, N. 1). — *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα*, *things which must be done*, opposed to *τὰ ἄδηλα* in the next clause. — *καὶ πράττειν* : the force of *καὶ* would be plainer here if οὕτως preceded, *as he believed, &c., so also to do them*.

Page 92. — *ἄριστ' ἂν πραχθῆναι* = *ἄριστ' ἂν πραχθείη* (G. 211). — *ὥπως ἀποβήσοιτο*, indirect question for *πῶς ἀποβήσεται* ; — *εἰ ποιητέα* (sc. *ἐστίν* or *εἴη*), *whether they* (i. e. *τὰ ἄδηλα*) *were to be done* (G. 281, 1).

7. *προσδεῖσθαι*, *needed besides*. — *τεκτονικόν*, &c. (pred. after *γενέσθαι*), *capable of building, &c.* — *ἀνθρώπων*, gen. after *ἀρχικόν*, *able to govern men* (G. 180, 1). — *πάντα . . . μαθήματα* repeats the preceding idea, *τεκτονικόν . . . γενέσθαι*. — *καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμη αἰρετέα εἶναι*, *could be grasped even by the mind of man*, i. e. by man's mind without divine help. The clause *τεκτονικὸν μὲν*, &c. refers to the mere *acquisition* of these arts, as opposed to *τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις*, which follows.

8. *καταλείπεσθαι*, *reserved*. — *ὧν οὐδὲν εἶναι* (for *εἴη* or *ἐστί*), by assimilation to *καταλείπεσθαι* (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — *τῷ . . . λαβόντι*, *to him who has gained powerful connections by marriage in the state*. — *εἰ . . . στερήσεται*, i. e. whether he will not be banished for being thus connected, in case of political troubles.

9. *δαιμονᾶν* : notice the play upon this word and *δαιμόνιον*. — *μαντεομένων . . . διακρίνειν*, *who seek by divination [to know] what the Gods have granted to men to understand by learning*. — *οἷον*, *for example*. — *ἐπὶ ζεύγος*, i. e. *for taking charge of a team*. — *τὴν ναῦν*, *his ship*. — *ἃ ἔξεστιν . . . εἰδέναι*, *what may be known by counting, &c.* — *οἷς* (G. 152). — *ᾧσιν* (G. 247 and 233). — *ἔλεω*, *propitious* (G. 64).

Page 93. — 10. *περιπάτους*, *porches or public walks*. — *πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς*, *at the time of full market, towards noon* (G. 179, 1). — *ἔλεγε ὡς τὸ πολὺ*, *he was generally talking*.

11. *Σωκράτους*, gen. after both *εἶδεν* and *ἤκουσεν*, by *zeugma*, taking the case required by *ἤκουσεν*. — *τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως*, *about the nature of the universe*. — *ὥπως . . . ἔχει*, *how what sophists call the World* (lit. *Order*) *is constituted*. The sophists were professional teachers of rhetoric, philosophy, &c., whom it was the special delight of Socrates to convict of ignorance in what they assumed to teach. — *ἀνάγκαις*, *necessary laws*. — *μωραίνοντας* (G. 280).

12. *πρῶτον μὲν* : this corresponds to *ἐσκόπει δέ* in § 15. — *αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει*, *he used to inquire, in regard to them, &c.* : *αὐτῶν* is a possessive gen. (G. 167, 1), depending on the following clause as on a substantive ; cf. *σκοπεῖν αὐτῶν τόδε*, *to examine this in (or about) them*. In § 15 we have *ἐσκόπει περὶ αὐτῶν*. — *πότερα . . . ἥ* (G. 282, 5). — *παρέντες* (v. *παρήμι*), *neglecting*.



13. *ἐθαύμαζε εἰ*, *he wondered that* (G. 228), not *he wondered whether*. On the principle of indirect discourse we might have had *εἰ εἴη* here (G. 248, examples under 2). — *τοὺς μέγιστα φρονούντας ἐπὶ*, *those who take most pride in*. — *δοξάζειν* depends on *ἔφη* implied in *ἐθαύμαζε*: see, however, § 8, above. — *τοῖς μαινομένοις . . . διακεῖσθαι*, i. e. their relation to each other is like that of madmen (G. 186).

14. *τῶν . . . μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν*, *for of madmen, some, &c.* (G. 143, 1). — *οὐδ' . . . εἶναι*, *not to seem disgraceful, &c., even in public*. — *ὅτιοῦν*, *anything whatever*: a relative becomes an indefinite by the addition of *-οῦν*. — *ἐξιτητέον εἶναι* (= *ἐξίεναι δεῖν*), *that they ought to come out* (G. 281, 2). — *τὰ τυχόντα*, *which they may chance to find*, i. e. *accidental*. — *τῶν τε . . . μεριμνώντων*, part. gen. (corresponding to *τῶν τε μαινομένων*, above) depending on *τοῖς μὲν* and *τοῖς δέ*, which is twice repeated. — *ἐν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι*, *that all Being (τὸ ὄν) is but one*. — *ἄπειρα*, pred. after *εἶναι*, referring to *τὸ ὄν*, i. e. that Being has countless forms. — *οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινήθῃαι*, *that nothing could under any circumstances (ποτέ) be moved (or move)*: the direct form would be *οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινήθῃαι* (G. 211). This refers to the paradox of Zeno the Eleatic (460 B. C.), which attempted to show the impossibility of motion. — *γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι*, referring to the doctrine that all things are generated (or created) and are (in time) destroyed, as opposed to the doctrine that there can be neither generation nor decay in the universe. — *οὐτ' . . . ἀπολέσθαι*, = *οὐτ' ἂν γένοιτο . . . οὐτ' (ἂν) ἀπόλοιτο* (G. 212, 4). Socrates compares these opposing doctrines of the physical philosophers with the different opinions held by different madmen on the matters mentioned in the beginning of the section.

Page 94. — 15. *ἄρα* introduces a direct question (G. 282, 2): a second part of the same question is introduced by *ῥη*. In the former part, the leading clause is *οἱ . . . νομίζουσιν*. — *ποιήσιν ὃ τι ἂν μάθωσιν*, *that they are to practise (do) whatever they have learnt*; but *ποιήσιν ἀνέμους*, &c., *that they are to create winds, &c.* — *ῥη*, *how* (as indir. interrogative).

16. *τοιαῦτα*, i. e. as above. — *ἃ* is object of both *εἰδότας* and *ἀγνοοῦντας*, as is shown by the position of *μὲν* and *δέ*. — *δικαίως ἂν κεκληθῇαι* (= *κεκλημένοι ἂν εἶεν*), *would justly be called* (G. 211, and 200, N. 6).

17. *εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήσαν*, *that they paid no regard to these* (G. 171, 2). See § 13 above.

18. *βουλευσας*, *chosen senator* (G. 200, N. 5 b), equivalent to *βουλευτῆς γενόμενος*. The Senate (*βουλῇ*) of Five Hundred was chosen annually by lot, and contained fifty members from each of the ten Attic tribes. Each set of fifty were called *Prytanes* (*πρυτάνεις*) during a tenth part of the year (called *πρυτανεία*); and it was then their duty to remain through the whole day in the Tholos (or *Rotunda*, near the Senate House), where their meals were provided them at the public expense. Every morning they chose one of their own number to be the *Epistates*, or President of the day, who (besides other duties) presided at any meeting of either the Senate or

the Assembly of the people which was held on that day. The Assembly met regularly on four days in each *prytany*; on other days, except holidays, the Senate met.\* It thus appears how Socrates, by being chosen senator for the year, happened to be the presiding officer in the Assembly (*ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος*) on the day in question. It was the memorable day (in 406 B. C.) when the generals who had gained the naval battle of Arginusae were tried and condemned by the Athenian Assembly acting as a court. (See Grote, Chap. LXIV. ; and note on Hell. 2, III. 32, above.) — *ἦν . . . βουλευσείν* : one of the clauses in the senatorial oath was *κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλευσῶ*, *I will act as a senator in accordance with the laws*. — *μὴ ψήφῳ*, *by a single vote* : the illegality against which Socrates protested was chiefly (if not wholly) that of condemning several persons by one decree. When Socrates refused to bring the illegal proposition (which had already passed the Senate) before the Assembly (*ἐπιψηφίσαι*), it seems that the other Prytanes interfered and appointed some less scrupulous member of their body to act as president. — *περὶ πλείονος*, *of greater account*.

19. οὐχ ὃν τρόπον, *not, however, as* (G. 160, 2, and 154).

Page 95. — 20. *τοιαῦτα . . . οἷά τις ἂν . . . εἴη*, *such, that any one saying and doing them would be, &c.* : *ἂν* belongs to both *εἴη* and *νομίζοιτο* (G. 212, 4), and *λέγων καὶ πράττων* contains the protasis, = *εἰ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι* (G. 226, 1).

IV. CHAP. VIII. — 11. *Σωκράτην . . . οἷος ἦν*, *accus. of anticipation* : cf. Mark i. 24, *οἶδά σε τίς εἶ*, “*I know thee who thou art*.” — *οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐπιέμενοι* is limited by *τῶν γινωσκόντων*. — *ποθοῦντες* (G. 279, 2, N.). — *ὥς ὄντα* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἐμοί*, *dat. after ἐδόκει* (in the tenth line below). — *οὕτως* is understood with *δίκαιος, ἐγκρατής, &c.* — *παραβάλλον . . . κρινέτω*, *let him compare the character of some other man with these* (i. e. the qualities just mentioned) *and then (οὕτως) judge*.

## PLATO.—1. APOLOGY.

The “Apology” of Plato probably contains very nearly the actual defence spoken by Socrates before his judges. It is not a formal reply to the indictment, but a protest against the falsehood of the charge

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\* In the following century, in the time of Demosthenes, we find a different system, by which the Epistates chose by lot nine senators daily, one from each of the tribes except his own, who were called *πρόεδροι* and presided (as a board) in both Senate and Assembly.

in general.\* Socrates claims that, so far from being a disbeliever in the Gods, he was fulfilling an express divine commission in instructing his fellow-citizens; nay, if his life should be spared on condition of refraining, he could not so disobey the command of the divinity. The Delphic oracle had pronounced that there was no wiser man than he. Astonished at this, he had tried to satisfy himself what it meant; until he learned that his wisdom consisted in knowing his own ignorance, and in the wish to learn. He had never professed to be a teacher; he had no part in the opinion of such natural philosophers as Anaxagoras; he had never received pay for his teaching, like the "Sophists"; he had done the duties of a good soldier and citizen, in the face of danger and public prejudice; he could have had no motive — as he shows in a brief dialogue with his principal accuser, Meletus — to mislead or injure any of the young men who came under his influence. These are the main points of this celebrated Defence, which he closes by distinctly, even haughtily, refusing any appeal to the compassion of his judges to violate their oath requiring an honest verdict, for this would be practical atheism; and by "leaving it to them and to God to judge concerning him, as should be best both for him and them."

The Defence, thus far, occupies about three fourths of the "Apology." When it was closed, Socrates was declared guilty by a majority of about 60 out of 501 votes. The penalty proposed by his prosecutors was death. But, in the class of trials to which this belonged, the defendant was called on to propose a penalty for himself, the court appearing to be bound by custom, if not by law, to choose between the penalties thus proposed. If Socrates had now proposed a sentence which the court had been likely to accept, his life would doubtless have been spared. Instead of this, he first proposed a public maintenance in the Prytaneum, — the city hall, where the hospitalities of the state were given to foreign ambassadors and other public guests, and where certain private citizens, as a reward for special services, were allowed to take their meals at the public table, — the highest civil honor which could be paid. He next declared that a life spent in exile, or under restraint of free speech, would be more intolerable than death; and finally proposed, as a money fine, *one mina* (about seventeen dollars), which, at his friends' suggestion, he increased to thirty minae. Upon this, the vote of the court was again taken, and the death penalty was decreed by a majority which (ac-

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\* The genuine indictment is given by Xenophon in the first section of the *Memorabilia*. See page 91.



cording to one account) was larger by eighty votes than that by which he was found guilty at first.

The portion of the *Apology* here given contains the last words of Socrates before his judges, spoken after the sentence of death had been pronounced.

Page 96. — 1. οὐ . . . χρόνου, *for the sake of no long time*, since Socrates was now an old man. — ὥς . . . ἀπεκτόνατε, indirect discourse after the idea of *saying* implied in ὄνομα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν. — ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, *of itself*. — πόρρω τοῦ βίου, *advanced in life* (G. 168) : his age is said to be advanced, and near death. — ἐμοῦ . . . θάνατον (G. 173, 2, x.).

2. ἀπορίᾳ . . . τοιούτων, *have been condemned through lack of such words, &c.* — πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, *not at all*. — τοῦ ἐθέλειν, one of the genitives depending on ἀπορίᾳ. — ἀκούειν (G. 261, 2). — θρηνοῦντος, &c. (G. 277, 6) : these words explain λέγειν, &c.

3. τότε, *then*, in making my defence. — ἀνελεύθερον, *slavish* (unworthy of a freeman). — ἀπολογησαμένῳ (G. 277, 2 ; 184, 2, n. 1). — ἐκείνως, *so*, i. e. by an unworthy defence. — ὅπως ἀποφεύζεται (G. 217). — πᾶν ποιῶν, *by any and every means*. — ἀφείς (G. 277, 2).

Page 97. — 4. μὴ οὐ ᾗ (G. 218, n. 2). — πονηρίαν, *sc. ἐκφυγεῖν*. — θάττον . . . θεῖ, *baseness runs faster than death*. — ἅτε ὧν, *as being* (G. 277, n. 2). — ὑπὸ τοῦ βραδυτέρου ἐάλων, *I have been (was) overtaken by the slower* (Death). — ὀφλῶν, *convicted* (v. ὀφλίσκων) : lit. *failing* in a suit, and so condemned to pay the debt or penalty ; here, *death* (θανάτου). We find ὀφλεῖν ζημίαν, *to incur a penalty* ; ὀφλεῖν χρήματα, *to incur a fine* (as ὥφλε χιλίας δραχμάς, in the former part of the defence) ; ὀφλεῖν κλοπῆς δίκην (also ὀφλεῖν κλοπῆς), *to be convicted on a charge of theft* ; ὀφλεῖν γέλωτα, αἰσχύνην, *to incur laughter, disgrace* ; ὀφλεῖν μωρίαν, *to incur the charge of folly* : so ὠφληκότος μοχθηρίαν, below. — τῷ τιμήματι, *the sentence* (the result of τίμῃσις, which is the act of settling the amount or kind of penalty). — οὕτω σχεῖν, *to come out thus*. — μετρίως, *well enough*.

5. χρησμοφδεῖσθαι, *to utter my oracle*. — ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι (G. 202, 3, n.), depending on χρησμοδοῦσιν, where we should expect a phrase meaning simply *at the point of death*, explaining ἐνταῦθα. — οἶαν (sc. τιμωρίαν) is cognate accus. after ἀπεκτόνατε, *such punishment as you have inflicted in condemning me to death*. — τοῦ διδόναι (G. 262, 2). — τὸ δέ, *but the fact* (G. 143, 1, n. 2).

6. ἀποκτείνοντες (G. 138, n. 8). — τοῦ ὀνειδίζειν (G. 263, 1). — ὑμῖν (G. 184, 2). — οὐ . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε (G. 283, 9). — ὅπως ἔσται (G. 217).

Page 98. — 7. ἐν ᾧ . . . ἄγουσι, *while the officers are busy*. — οἶ, *whither*, i. e. to the prison. — διαμυθολογήσθαι, *to have a talk* ; opposed to the formal judicial arguments which had preceded. — τί ποτε νοεῖ, *what it means*.

8. δικάσται : his address before had been "Athenians" ; to those who voted justly he now speaks as "Judges." — εἰωθυῖα (v. ἔθω), *accustomed*. — τοῦ δαιμονίου : Socrates believed that there was a divine voice within him



(δαιμόνιόν τι), which often warned him *not* to do certain things, but never urged him to any positive act. — πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς, *in very little things*. — εἴ τι μέλλοιμι (G. 225). — οἷηθείη ἄν τις, *one might think*. — καὶ νομίζεται, *and (what) is generally thought*, αἶ (as nom.) being understood.

9. λέγοντα μεταξὺ (G. 277, κ. 1).

10. κινδυνεύει . . . γεγονέναι, *seems likely to be* (lit. *runs a risk of being*). Plato uses κινδυνεύω nearly in the sense of δοκέω, so that the infin. after it stands in indirect discourse (G. 203), as here. — οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως, *it is not (possible) that, &c.*

11. δοῖν θάτερον, *one of two things*. — οἷον μὴδὲν εἶναι, (such) *as to be nothing* (i. e. like annihilation). — τὰ λεγόμενα, *the common saying*.

Page 99. — 12. μὴδ' ὄναρ μὴδὲν, *not even any dream*. — ἐπειδὴν . . . ὀρᾷ depends on ἐστὶ understood with ὕπνος (G. 233). For the whole sentence, see G. 227, 1. — ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν οἶμαι : the force of ἄν falls upon εὐρεῖν, several lines below, where it is twice repeated (G. 212, 2) : οἶμαι is also repeated after the long protasis, and δέοι is repeated before σκεψάμενον. — The sentence reads, *I think, if one were obliged to select that night in which he slept so soundly as to have no dream at all, and, comparing with that night the other nights and days of his life, were obliged to examine and say how many days and nights in his life he had lived better than that night, (I think) not only any private person, but the great King would himself find these easy to count (i. e. very few), compared with his other days and nights*. The conditional sentence (without οἶμαι) would be : εἰ δέοι τινα . . . εἰπεῖν, εὖροι ἄν. μὴ ὅτι is elliptical for μὴ λέγωμεν ὅτι (*let us not say that, &c.*), *not to speak of*, i. e. *not merely*; it is often used, as here, where ὅτι forms no part of the construction of the sentence, and where the origin of the expression was probably not thought of.

13. οὐδὲν πλεῖον, *no longer*. — εἰ δ' αὖ, *but if, on the other hand*. — οἷον ἀποδημήσαι, *like a migration*.

14. "Αἰδον (sc. δῶμα), *the (realm) of Death, or Hades*. For the proper names which follow, see a classical dictionary; Triptolemus was not usually counted one of the judges in Hades, and Socrates probably follows some local Attic myth. — ἐγένοντο, *proved themselves*. — ἐπὶ πόσῳ, *at what price?*

15. ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ, *to myself also*. — ὅποτε ἐντύχοιμι, *when I should meet* (G. 232, 4), like εἴ ποτε εὐτύχοιμι. — διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον, *in consequence of an unjust judgment*: referring to the contest for the armor of Achilles between Odysseus and Ajax, after which the defeated Ajax killed himself; this is the subject of the *Ajax* of Sophocles. — ἐξετάζοντα : Socrates delights in the thought that he can go on *examining* and cross-questioning and exposing false pretensions to wisdom in Hades, as he had done in Athens.

Page 100. — 16. τὸν . . . ἀγαγόντα, i. e. Agamemnon. — ἡ Σίσυφον, ἦ — ἄλλους μυρῖους (as the sentence might be written) : instead of con-

tinuing the question by adding other names, he changes the form of the sentence, and adds, *one might mention ten thousand others, &c.* — οἷς is the object of ἐξετάζειν only by *zeugma*. — ἀμύχανον εὐδαιμονίας, *a vast amount of joy*. — οἱ ἐκεῖ, i. e. those who dwell below. — τούτου ἕνεκα, i. e. especially τούτου ἐξετάζειν, for which Socrates implies that he is to suffer death.

17. οὔτε . . . τελευτήσαντι, *either during life (pres.) or after death (aor.)*. — ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, *of its own accord*, i. e. *by chance*. — ἀπὸ ἀλλάχθαι πραγμάτων, *to be free (lit. to have been freed, G. 202, 2) from troubles*. — τὸ σημεῖον, *the divine sign*, the same as τὸ δαιμόνιον. — τοῖς κατηγοροῖς (G. 184, 2). — οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν, *thinking that they were doing me an injury* (G. 203). — τοῦτο αὐτοῖς μέμφεσθαι: τοῦτο is cognate acc.; for αὐτοῖς, see G. 184, 2. μέμφομαι sometimes takes the simple object-accusative.

18. δέομαι (G. 172, N. 1). — τιμωρήσασθε, *take your vengeance on*. — ταῦτα ταῦτα λυποῦντες, *weaving them in this same way* (G. 159, N. 4). — ἐὰν . . . ὄντες, *if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing*. — ὀνειδίζετε αὐτοῖς (G. 184, 2). — ὦν δεῖ, sc. ἐπιμελείσθαι. — οὐδενός: compare this use of οὐδέν in a causal sentence with μηδέν ὄντες in the conditional sentence above (see G. 283, 1 and 2). — δίκαια πεπονθώς ἔσομαι, *I shall have been justly treated* (G. 98, 2, N.). — αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ υἱεῖς, *both myself and my sons*; apposition, as if the latter were included in ἐγώ. — ὥρα ἀπιέναι, *time to depart* (G. 261, 1, N.).

The circumstances of the imprisonment of Socrates, and the occasion of the long delay in the execution of his sentence, are given in the extract from the “Phaedo” which follows.

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## 2. PHAEDO.

DURING his thirty days' confinement, Socrates was freely visited by his friends in prison. As the time of his execution drew near, they were anxious for his escape; and one of them, Crito, a man of wealth, and near his own age, had prepared a plan of rescue, with the connivance of the friendly jailer. Socrates, however, refused to avoid his fate, on the ground that the highest duty of a citizen, especially in a free state, is absolute obedience to the laws, accepting his sentence as the voice of the State itself, — which he sets forth in the brief dialogue called “Crito.” On the morning of the day of execution, several of his friends gathered in his prison, — among them Phaedo, who afterwards tells his friend Echecrates and others the occurrences of the day in the Dialogue bearing his name. Much the largest part of it is taken up with discussing the views of Socrates on the nature and immortality of the soul. The portion here given is the introductory narrative, and

the conclusion, containing that story of his last hours, "which," says Cicero, "I often read with tears."\*

The dialogue between Phaedo and Echecrates is supposed to take place at Phlius in Peloponnesus, the home of Echecrates.

Page 101. — 1. ἡ . . . ἤκουσας; or did you hear it from some one else? — αὐτός: Phaedo was a citizen of Elis, a disciple of Socrates, and afterwards the head of a philosophical school in his native place. — τῶν πολιτῶν Φλιασίων οὐδεὶς, no one of the citizens — Phliasians: the position of Φλιασίων shows that it is not a mere adjective. — ἐπιχωριάζει Ἀθήναζε, ever goes to Athens to live at all (πάνν τι).

2. ἐστεμμένη, v. στέφω, wreathed with laurel, which was sacred to Apollo. — πέμπουσι, send in state, i. e. every year. — θεωρία, a sacred embassy.

3. τοὺς δις ἑπτα ἐκείνους, the well-known fourteen, i. e. the seven virgins and seven youths whom the Athenians were obliged to send once in nine years to Minos of Crete, to be devoured by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth. The sacred trireme, the *Delias*, which carried the deputation to Delos, was believed to be the same vessel which carried Theseus to Crete. For the account of the voyage of Theseus, the death of the Minotaur, and the escape of Theseus with the victims by the help of Ariadne, see a classical dictionary under *Theseus*, and Plutarch's Life of Theseus, § 15. — εἰ σωθεῖεν . . . ἀπάξειν (G. 247). — καὶ νῦν ἔτι: "the custom was continued," says Plutarch, "to the time of Demetrius Phalereus," i. e. till about B. C. 300. — ἐπειδὴν ἄρξωνται (G. 233). — μηδένα . . . πρὶν ἂν (G. 240).

Page 102. — τύχωσιν ἀπολαβόντες, happen to hinder them (G. 279, 4): compare ἔτυχεν . . . γεγονός (below), happened to have been done (perf.).

4. τὸ μεμνήσθαι, to commemorate, i. e. in conversation, as he explains it in αὐτὸν (sc. ἐμὲ) λέγοντα καὶ ἄλλα ἀκούοντα. — τοιοῦτους ἑτέρους, others of the same mind (with yourself). — ὥς ἂν δύνῃ (G. 232, 3) ἀκριβέστατα, as accurately as you can: by omitting ἂν δύνῃ, we have the usual form ὥς ἀκριβέστατα (see ὥς σαφέστατα, above).

5. θαυμάσια ἔπαθον, I was marvellously affected. — ἔλεος εἰσήει, did pity enter [my mind]. — τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων, causal gen. after εὐδαίμων (G. 173, 1). — ὥς (= ὅτι οὕτως), i. e. he died so fearlessly, &c. (G. 238). — ὥστε . . . παρίστασθαι, so that it came into my mind, that he, &c. — ἵεναι and πράξειν are both futures after παρίστασθαι (G. 203). — ἄνευ θεῶν μοίρας, i. e. uncared for by the Gods. — εἰκὸς παρόντι πένθει, natural to one present at suffering. — ἡδονή, sc. εἰσήει. — ὥς . . . ὄντων, i. e. from the thought that we were engaged in philosophical discussion (G. 277, N. 2). — τοιοῦτοί τινες, on some such subject (i. e. as philosophy). — ἀτεχνῶς, absolutely or simply.

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\* Cuius morti illacrimari soleo, Platonem legens. Nat. Deor. III. 33.



Page 103. — ἐνθυμουμένῳ, agreeing with μοι, *when I reflected*. — ὅτε μὲν . . . ἐνίοτε δέ, *at one time, and at another* : notice the accent of ὅτε (not ὅτε) when it has this sense. — Ἀπολλόδωρος : he was a man of melancholy and excitable temper, sometimes called *the Fanatic*. Among those present at the death of Socrates are Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynics, and Euclides, the founder of the Megaric school. The absence of Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaics, is remarked. Plato excuses his own absence, § 6.

6. Αἰγίνη, *in Aegina* (G. 190, N.). — σχέδον τι . . . παραγέσθαι, i. e. *I think these are about all who* (lit. *about these*) *made up the company* (G. 246).

7. ἕως ἀνοιχθείη (G. 239, 2) : see ἐπειδὴ ἀνοιχθείη, below.

Page 104. — 8. εἶπε περιμένειν (G. 260, 2, N. 1), *he bade us wait* (ἐφη περιμένειν would mean *he said he was waiting*). — ἕως ἂν . . . κελεύσῃ, *until he should himself give us orders* : ἕως . . . κελεύσειε might have been used after the past tense (G. 248). — λύνουσι : from this it appears that Socrates had been kept chained. — παραγγέλλουσιν, *they are giving him directions*. — ὅπως ἂν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — εἰσιόντες, *as we entered*. — Ξανθίππη, the well-known termagant wife of Socrates. — ἀνευφήμησε, *uttered cries of lamentation*, such as were held to be of bad omen : the word is taken, as similar words often were, in the opposite of its proper sense. Thus the *left*, which was ill-omened, was called εὐώνυμον, *good-omened*. — ὅτι before a direct quotation (G. 241, 1). — τῶν τοῦ Κρίτωνος, *of Crito's attendants*.

9. ὥς . . . εἶναι, *how curiously it is related to what seems its opposite*. — τῷ . . . παραγίγνεσθαι, *that they will not come to a man together* : τῷ belongs also to ἀναγκάζεσθαι (G. 262, 2). — συνημμένῳ (v. συνάπτω), i. e. *attached to one head*. — δὺ ὄντε, *while they are two*. — μῦθον ἂν συνθεῖναι (= μῦθον ἂν συνέθηκε), *would have composed a fable* (G. 211).

Page 105. — ᾧ ἂν παραγένηται (G. 233). — ὥσπερ . . . ἔοικεν, *as then I too believe* (i. e. I, as Aesop would have done). — ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ, *on account of the chain*. — ἤκειν φαίνεται, *appears to have come* : φαίνομαι generally takes the participle.

10. ἀναμνήσας : for the peculiar use of the aorist partic., see G. 204, N. 2. — ἐντεῖνας (τόνος), *versifying*. — τὸ . . . προοίμιον, the *proemium* (or hymn used at the beginning of a festival) *in honor of Apollo* : the Homeric Hymn to Apollo is an example of such a poem. — καὶ ἄλλοι . . . Εὐήνης, *not only had certain others previously asked me, but also Euenus, &c.* — ὅ τι διανοηθεῖς, *with what intention*. — σοι μέλει τοῦ ἔχειν (G. 184, 2, N. 1). — ἐμέ is subject of ἔχειν.

11. ἀντίτεχνος, *rival*. — τί λέγει, (to see) *what they meant*. — ἀφοσιούμενος . . . ποιεῖν, *clearing my conscience in case they (the dreams) should perchance command me to compose music of this kind* (G. 248, 2). — ἄλλοτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ὄψει, *at different times in different shapes*.

12. αὐτό, *it*, i. e. the vision, subject of παρακελεύεσθαι (*to urge one to the act*) and ἐπικελεύειν (*to cheer one in the act*). — τοῖς θέουσι, *runners in a race*. — καὶ ἐμοί . . . ἐπικελεύειν : supply ὑπελάμβανον from the preceding

clause: **ἐμοί** follows **ἐπικελεύειν**. — **ὥς . . . οὔσης** (G. 277, N. 2): this contains the ground on which the vision urged Socrates. — **μεγίστης μουσικῆς**, the highest form of music, i. e. music in its wide Greek sense, including all literature and accomplishments. — **τοῦτο πράττοντος**, making this (philosophy) my business: cf. Lat. *hoc agere* and *aliud agere*. — **πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι**, before performing my pious duty, = **ὅσια ποιῆσαι**: **πρὶν** here takes the infinitive, when it might have taken the subjunctive or optative as depending on a negative sentence (G. 240, 2).

Page 106. — **ποιήσαντα** and **πειθόμενον** denote the means.

13. **μύθους ἀλλ' οὐ λόγους**, fables, but not [mere] narratives: here **μῦθος** has its special sense of fables, and **λόγοι** its wider sense of narratives, while above (§ 10) Aesop's fables are called by Cebes by the more general name of **λόγοι**. — **οὐκ ἦ** (sc. **ἐγώ**) represents the same in the direct discourse (G. 243, N. 1). — **τούτους ἐποίησα**, I put these into verse. — **οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχον**, the first which I came upon (for **τοὺς πρώτους οἷς ἐνέτυχον**), added as further explanation of **τούτους**, to which the principal relative clause **οὗς . . . Αἰσώπου** also belongs. — **ταῦτα φράζε, καὶ ἔρῳσθαι**, tell him this, and also (bid him) farewell.

14. **οἷον** is exclamatory (G. 155). — **ἐκὼν εἶναι**, a peculiar phrase in which **εἶναι** seems superfluous, meaning *willingly* (G. 268, N.). — **ὅτῳ . . . μέτεστιν**, who worthily shares in this thing (philosophy). — **βιάσεται αὐτόν**, i. e. by committing suicide: the first part of the following discussion (here omitted) refers to suicide, against which the authority of Philolaüs (a celebrated Pythagorean) is quoted.

15. **ἅμα λέγων** (G. 277, N. 1). — **τὸ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι** (G. 262, 2) differs very slightly in meaning from **οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι** in indirect discourse: it means *its not being right*. In the following clause, **ἐθέλειν ἄν** (= **ἐθέλοι ἄν**) depends directly on **λέγεις**: that the philosopher should be willing (G. 226, 2) to follow, &c. — **μυθολογεῖν**, to talk (familiarly): see Apology, § 7.

Here follows the celebrated dialogue on Immortality, ending with a striking parable, or myth, which sets forth the Greek imagery of the judgments of the future world, where "they who are sufficiently purified by philosophy live without the body forevermore, and come into dwellings fairer than these, which it were not easy to describe, nor is there time enough at present."

Page 107. — 16. **τούτων**, &c. referring to the discourse just ended. — **καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλον**, for noble is the reward. — **φαίη ἄν ἀνὴρ τραγικός**, i. e. as a tragedian would express it. — **λουσάμενον**, after bathing. — **λούειν** depends on the verbal idea in **πράγματα**, as we often say, to take the trouble to do a thing.

17. **εἰεν**, well then (lit. let this be as it is, G. 251, 1). — **ἐπιστέλλεις** is appropriately used of the last commands of one about to die. — **ὅ τι ἂν . . .**

ποιούμεν, i. e. *which we should especially gratify you by doing*: ἄν belongs to ποιούμεν. — οὐδὲν καινότερον, in English, simply = *nothing new*. — ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι = ἔαν . . . ἐπιμελήσθε, corresponding to ἔαν δὲ ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμελήτε, below (G. 226, 1): in the latter clause μὲν is irregular, and is omitted in many MSS. — οὐδ' ἔαν ὁμολογήσητε, *not even if you assent, &c.* — πλέον ποιεῖν = *to profit*.

18. ὅπως ἂν βούλησθε, *as you please* (G. 232, 3). — ἐρωτᾷ . . . θάπτῃ, *he asks how he shall bury ME*: the subjunctive here represents the interrogative subjunctive πῶς θάπτω; (G. 256) of the direct question, as it is seen above in θάπτωμεν, &c. (G. 244). — ἄλλως λέγειν: ἄλλως is here equivalent to μάτην, *idly, or without meaning*.

Page 108. — 19. ἐγγύην (G. 159, N. 4). — οὗτος . . . παραμενεῖν, *for he [gave surety in court] that I would remain, i. e. would not escape*: ἡ μὴν is especially used in oaths and other solemn statements. — οἰχήσονται ἀπιόντα (G. 203, N. 2) represents οἰχήσομαι ἀπιών of the direct discourse (G. 279, 4, N.). — ὥς . . . Σωκράτη, *that it is SOCRATES that he lays out for burial*. — ἡ δ' ὅς (G. 151, N. 3). — τὸ . . . λέγειν, &c. *to speak wrongly is not merely a mistake as regards the act itself*. — καὶ θάπτειν (sc. χρῆ) οὕτως, &c. *and [you must] bury it in such a way as shall be, &c.* (G. 232, 3).

20. ἀνίστατο εἰς οἴκημά τι, *arose [and went] into a room*. — ὅση (sc. ἡ ξυμφορὰ) . . . εἴη, i. e. *how heavy [a calamity] had befallen us*: indirect question. — ἀτεχνῶς . . . στερηθέντες, *exactly as [we should have done] if we had been bereft of a father* (G. 277, N. 3: 226, 1). — οἰκείαι, *of the family*.

21. ὅπερ ἄλλων καταγιγνώσκω, *(the fault) which I find with others* (G. 173, 2, N.). — ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλλω (G. 233), referring to different cases.

Page 109. — ἄλλ' ἐκείνοις, sc. τοῖς αἰτίοις.

22. εἰ τέτριπται, *if it is mixed*. The hemlock was first bruised in a mortar; hence the use of τρίβω. — ὁ ἄνθρωπος (at end), i. e. a servant.

23. πίνοντας, sc. τὸ φάρμακον (G. 280). — ἐπειδὴν παραγγελθῇ, *after the order has been given them*, depends directly on the following participles, δειπνήσαντας, &c., but indirectly on πίνοντας, which is frequentative. — οὐδὲν . . . ὀφλήσειν, *that I gain nothing except [this] that I shall make myself ridiculous in my own estimation*: see note on Apol. § 4. — φειδόμενος . . . ἐνόντος, *sparing when nothing is left*. Hesiod (Works and Days, 367) says, δειλὴ δ' ἐνὶ πυθμένι φείδω, which Seneca thus translates: *Sera parsimonia in fundo est; 't is a sorry thrift at the bottom of the cup, i. e. when only the dregs are left*.

Page 110. — 24. ἕως ἂν . . . γένηται, *until a heaviness shall be felt* (G. 239, 2). — καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ποιήσει, *and then it [the poison] will do its own work*: αὐτό is nominative (G. 145, 1).

25. καὶ ὅς (G. 151, N. 3). — τοῦ χρώματος (G. 170, 1). — ταυρηδόν, *fixedly*. — πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπείσαι, *as regards pouring a libation from it*. —



γενέσθαι, after εὔχεσθαι (G. 203, N. 2). — γένοιτο (G. 251, 1). — ἐπισχόμενος (v. ἐπέχω), *holding it* (to his lips).

26. τὸ μὴ δακρύνειν (G. 263, 2). — ἐμοῦ γε βιᾶ καὶ αὐτοῦ, *even in spite of myself*. — οἷου = ὅτι τοιούτου (G. 238). — ἐστερημένος εἶην (G. 248; cf. 250, Note). — ἀναβρυχσάμενος, *sobbing aloud*. — οὐδένα ὄντινα οὐ (G. 153, N. 4), *every one*. — κατέκλασε, *pierced to the heart* (lit. *broke*). — ἐν εὐφημίᾳ, here in a negative sense, when no sounds of evil omen are heard: a common proclamation of silence before a religious ceremony was εὐφημία ἔστω. The saying ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χρὴ τελευτᾶν is called Pythagorean. — τοῦ δακρύνειν: after ἐπέσχομεν we might have had τοῦ μὴ δακρύνειν without change of meaning (G. 263, 1).

Page 111.—27. οὗτος ὁ δούς, *this man* [of whom I spoke] *who had given*, &c. — διαλιπὼν χρόνον, *from time to time*: see note on the same expression in § 28. — ἐπανιών, *going upwards*. — ὅτι ψύχοιτο, *that he was becoming cold*. — αὐτὸς ἤπτετο, *he felt of himself*. — τότε οἰχήσεται, *then he should be gone* (in direct discourse οἰχήσομαι), one of the phrases used by the Greeks to avoid the mention of death. — Ἀσκληπιῷ ἄλεκτρυνόνα: those who recovered from sickness often sacrificed a cock to Aesculapius. Socrates suddenly remembers a neglected sacrifice; or, possibly, he asks Crito to make an offering in gratitude for his release from life. — μὴ ἀμελήσητε (G. 254).

28. ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν, *after a little while*: the same phrase is general (= *at intervals*) as used above, because there it is joined with the imperfect διεσκόπει. — καὶ ὅς, i. e. Socrates. — ἔστησεν is active, and the meaning is, *his eyes became fixed*. — ξυνέλαβε, *closed*. — τῶν τότε . . . ἀρίστων, *the best of his time whom we knew*.

## HERODOTUS.

THE chief events of the great Persian Wars are the capture of Euboea and the battle of Marathon, B. C. 490; the defence of Thermopylae and the sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis, B. C. 480; and the battles of Plataea and Mycale in the following year. The narrative of these events makes the most interesting and important part of the History composed by Herodotus in the generation immediately following.

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, one of the Doric cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, about the year 484 B. C. In his manhood he travelled extensively in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, a keen, intelligent, and accurate observer. His history is one of the earliest, and is much the most curious and interesting, of our sources of knowl-

edge as to the countries, people, customs, history, local politics, and family traditions of the century before his own day. It is in nine Books, named for the nine Muses. It is full of illustrations of the religious beliefs, omens, oracles, customs, and feelings of the time. The conflict between Asia and Europe appears in Herodotus as part of a great drama, in which the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war had been successive acts, which was watched at every point and guided by the manifest direction of the Gods; while in the earlier parts of his History he is constantly tracing proofs of that divine judgment, which humbles the pride and punishes the crimes of men.

Asia Minor, with the Greek colonies on its western coast, had been added to the Persian dominions by Cyrus the Great, who conquered Croesus, king of Lydia, B. C. 546. About the year B. C. 500, the Ionic cities, with Miletus at their head, revolted against the Persian rule; and, with the help of allies from Greece, especially the Athenians, captured and burned the Lydian capital, Sardis. The war continued about six years, and ended in a complete Persian victory. The Ionic city of Miletus was captured and reduced to slavery, to the passionate grief of its generous allies in Athens. But the attention of the Persians had been drawn to the free states and islands towards the west, and these hostilities led the way to their two formidable invasions. Meanwhile the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had been driven from Athens (B. C. 510), and had taken refuge at the Persian court. He was now a feeble old man; but his hate of the Athenians and desire of revenge made him eager to serve the invader, whom he accompanied himself to the plain of Marathon.

Although Herodotus was a Dorian by birth, he wrote his History in Ionic Greek. His intercourse with the Ionic cities in his immediate neighborhood must have made him familiar with their speech, even if we reject the account given by Suidas of his long residence as an exile in the Ionic island of Samos. But he probably chose the Ionic dialect chiefly because it had been used by the historians or annalists who preceded him. The dialect of Herodotus is known as the *New Ionic*, which, where it differs from the Attic, is very similar to the Old Ionic of Homer. Its general peculiarities should be learnt by the beginner from the grammar.\* Others will be seen in the Lexicon; as the use of  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in  $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\omicron\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ , &c., for  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\omicron\pi\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ , &c., and the interchange of aspirates in  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ , for  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ . The chief peculiarity in syntax is the use of

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\* See G. Introduction, pp. 1 and 2; §§ 30; 39; 44; 59; 67, Note 1; 70; Notes to 76-86; §§ 119; 120; 126; Notes to 127; see also §§ 140, Note 4; 148, Note 4. Much of the detail in the notes can be learnt by practice while reading.

the forms of the article beginning with  $\tau$  as relative pronouns (G. 140, n. 4), which must be kept constantly in mind.

The story of the Persian Wars is begun in the sixth book of Herodotus, and is continued in the three following books. The extracts here given include the battle of Marathon and the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis, and end with the retreat of Xerxes to Asia after his defeat at Salamis. They begin with VI. 48, to which V. 105 is prefixed by way of introduction.

## I.

Page **112**. — 1. βασιλεῖ, uncontracted form for βασιλεῖ (G. 53, 3). — ὥς, *when*. — Σάρδεις = Σάρδεις (G. 53, 1, n. 3), accus. plural. — Ἴωνων . . . ποιησάμενον, *making no account of the Ionians*. — μετὰ δέ, *but afterwards* (G. 191, n. 2). — πυθόμενον, like ὥς ἐπύθετο above. — εἶρεσθαι, *used to ask*, imperfect infinitive (G. 203, n. 1). — ἀπείναι for ἀφείναι (v. ἀφήμι : G. 17, 1, n.), *let fly*. — μὴν for αὐτόν (G. 79, 1, n. 4), i. e. the arrow. — βάλλοντα, *as he let it fly* (G. 204). — ἐκγενέσθαι, infinitive for optative in a wish (G. 270), *be it granted*. — προστάξει depends on λέγεται (third line). — ἐς τρίς, *thrice*. — ἐκάστοτε, i. e. every day at supper. — μέμνεο (for μέμνησο), as if from a present μέμνομαι : the form μέμνη is found in Homer.

2. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : Darius had sent an army and a fleet in 492 B. C., under his son-in-law Mardonius, to subdue Eretria and Athens, reducing the Greek populations on the way. Some, including the Macedonians, were subdued by the army ; but as the fleet beat about Mount Athos, “there fell on them a north wind, great and ungovernable, which treated them very roughly, dashing many of the ships against Athos ; three hundred of them are said to have perished, and more than twenty thousand men. And as this sea about Athos is most full of monsters, many were seized and devoured by them, and some were crushed against the rocks ; and some could not swim and so were lost ; and some perished with cold. So then fared that fleet.” (Hdt. VI. 44.) After some successes in the south of Thrace, Mardonius returned to Asia. — ὅ τι ἔχοιεν, indirect question. — κότερα = πότερον. — ἐωυτῷ = ἑαυτῷ. — σφέας αὐτοῦς = ἑαυτοῦς. — ὦν = οὖν, *therefore*. — ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας, i. e. *ordering them to different places*. — πόλις = πόλις (G. 53, 1, n. 3). — νέας μακράς, *ships of war, naves longas*.

3. τὰ προῖσχετο αἰτέων, *what he put forward as his demand*. — ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοῖατο = εἰς οὓς ἀφίκοντο (G. 233). — καὶ δὲ καί, lit. *and moreover also*, an emphatic formula very common in Hdt. Here it stands for the usual καί in the expression ἄλλοι τε . . . καί. — σφί = σφίσι (G. 79, 1, n. 2), used like αὐτοῖς in Attic (G. 144, 2.) — ἐπέκείατο (G. 127, VI. n.). ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας, *aiming a blow at them* (as English, “have at them”).

Page **113**. — ὥς . . . στρατεύονται, *so as to join the Persians in marching upon them*. The jealousy thus roused threatened a war which would



have divided and weakened Greece : it was composed in season, and the men of Aegina fought bravely against the Persians at Salamis and Plataea. — τὰ πεποιήκοιεν, *what* [as the Athenians said] *they had done* (G. 248, 4, last ex.). — συνήπτο : the active form συνάπτειν πόλεμον (cf. συνάπτειν μάχην in § 12, *to join battle*), means, *to engage in war*. The hostility between Aegina and Athens is traced by Herodotus to the following circumstance : In time of famine, the Epidaurians had brought two statues of sacred olive-wood from Athens, paying therefor a yearly service at the shrine of Erechtheus. After these had for many years been effectual to avert the barrenness of the land, they were stolen by Aeginetans, colonists of Epidaurus, and the tribute ceased. The Athenians then sent to demand it at Aegina ; but, while they were attempting to drag away the sacred statues, a violent storm burst forth, with an earthquake, so that their whole expedition, struck with frenzy, fell upon one another and perished, except one man who fled to tell the tale.

4. ὥστε is used with the participle by Hdt. in the same sense as ἄτε in Attic (G. 277, N. 2b); *not* in the sense of ὥς. — Πεισιστρατιδίων, i. e. Hippias and his household. Pisistratus, the father of Hippias, became tyrant at Athens B. C. 560. Hippias was expelled and the democracy restored B. C. 510, twenty years before the battle of Marathon. — προσκατημένων = προσκαθημένων. — ταύτης . . . προφάσις, *adhering to this purpose*. — Ἑλλάδος, partitive genitive with τοὺς μὴ δόντας. — φλαύρως πρήξαντα, cf. κακῶς πράττειν (G. 165, N. 2). — παραλύνει, “*relieves*.” — ἀποδέξας = ἀποδείξας, *having appointed*. — Δᾶτιν, Ἄρταφέρνεα, in apposition with στρατηγούς.

Here follows the expedition of the fleet against the Grecian islands, and the capture of Eretria, in Euboea, the inhabitants of which were colonized by Darius eastward of the Persian Gulf.

5. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν : Eretria was opposite the northern point of Attica, across the strait, which is here about five miles wide. — κατέργοντες = καθ-είργοντες, *hemming* in the Athenians *greatly* : the word is doubtful. — δοκέοντες . . . τά, *expecting to do the same by the Athenians, as, &c.* (G. 165). — καὶ . . . γάρ : here the separate force of these particles can be seen, *and . . . for*. Generally, however, καὶ γάρ means simply *for surely* (more emphatic than γάρ alone), the original ellipsis of a clause with καὶ being forgotten. — ὁ Μαραθῶν : “the plain of Marathon is about six miles from north to south, and of varying width, having the eastern declivities of Pentelicus on the west, and the sea on the east.” Felton. It is about twenty miles northeast from Athens, and fifteen southeast from Eretria. — ἐνιππεύσαι, i. e. *for cavalry movements*. — κατηγέτο = καθηγέτο. — σφί (G. 171, 3, N.). — δέκα, i. e. one from each Attic tribe. — δέκατος, *one of ten* (not *tenth*). — τοῦ, *whose*. — κατέλαβε, *it befell* : its subject is φυγεῖν, which means properly *to get banished* (aorist), while φεύγειν is *to be in exile* : φεύγω is of course transitive, lit. *to flee from*, hence Πεισιστρατον.

6. ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου: this refers to the Thracian Chersonesus (on the west side of the Hellespont), where Miltiades had been several years governor or "despot." Hence Byron's familiar lines,

"The tyrant of the Chersonese," &c.

His uncle, Miltiades, the so-called οἰκιστής (or *founder* of the Chersonese), had led the first Athenian colony to this region during the reign of Pisis-tratus. Miltiades the younger, according to Herodotus, had advised breaking down the bridge on the Danube, and leaving Darius to perish in his campaign against the Scythians (about 516 B. C.): hence the king's enmity against him, and attempt to seize him, described below.

Page 114. — περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο, *made great efforts*. — τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, *thereupon*. — ὑποδεξάμενοι, *watching for his return*: the simple ἐδεξάμην in Ionic Greek, as in Attic, belongs to δέχομαι: but in compounds care must be taken to avoid confusion with this and similar Ionic forms (as ἐδέχθη) belonging to δέικνυμι. — ἀπεδέχθη, *was appointed*.

7. τοῦτο μελετῶντα, i. e. this was his profession. — τῷ = ᾧ, dative after περιπίπτει, *falls in with* (G. 187). — βώσαντα (v. βοᾶω), *calling*. — Πᾶνα, subject of κελεύσαι, which depends on ἔλεγε understood: Pan was the Pelasgic (i. e. aboriginal) deity, whose chief seat of worship was the Pelasgic district of Arcadia. — ἀπαγγεῖλαι, *to carry this message* (implying *to ask*). — διότι (= διὰ τί) . . . ποιεῦνται, *why they paid no reverence to him*. — τὰ δέ is used before ἔτι as if τὰ μὲν stood before πολλαχῇ. — καταστάντων . . . πρηγμάτων, *when their affairs were now restored to good condition*. — εἶναι: the subject is ταῦτα after πιστεύσαντες. — ἱρόν, *shrine*: this was a grotto below the Acropolis, with a descent of 47 steps. — ἀπό, *in consequence of*. — λαμπάδι, *a torch-race*.

8. δευτεραῖος, *within two days*: the distance is about 140 miles. — περιπεσοῦσαν (like περιπσεῖν), aorist participle without time (G. 279, 3). — πρὸς, *at the hands of*. — πόλι, dative of difference (G. 188, 2): *Greece is become poorer by one notable city*. — ἔαδε, v. ἀνδάνω. — ἀδύνατα ἦν, *it was impossible*, a common expression for ἀδύνατον ἦν (G. 135, 2).

Page 115. — ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνός: the lunar month was divided into three parts, called ἱστάμενος, μεσών, φθίνων. — εἰνάτη = ἐνάτη, *ninth*. It is supposed that in this particular month occurred the Carneia, the great Dorian festival in honor of Apollo, lasting from the seventh to the fifteenth (i. e. till the full moon), during which no Dorian might bear arms. It occurred generally in August, but this year early in September. — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7, Rem.) . . . τοῦ κύκλου, *while the moon's disk was not yet full*.

9. συνεννηθῆναι τῇ μητρὶ: this he understood to mean, that he should sleep in the grave in his native land. — γηραιός, *in his old age*. — κατελθών (G. 138, N. 8).

10. τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ (G. 148, N. 4). — ἀπέβησε, *put ashore*. — καταγομένας, *brought to land*: the corresponding ἀνάγεσθαι is *to put to sea*. — οἱ, *to him*, dative following ἐπήλθαι. — ἔσθαι for εἰώθει, v. ἔθω. — οἷα

(G. 277, N. 2 b) with *έόντι*, *since he was*. — *πρεσβυτέρω*, *rather old*. — *έξεληλυθέναι*, *had come to pass* (lit. *had come out*).

11. *έν τεμένει Έρακλέος*, i. e. in Marathon. — *Πλαταιέες*, the city of Plataea was about twenty-five miles northwest from Athens, in the territory of Boeotia. — *άναραιρέατο*, for *άνήρηγτο*, v. *άναίρέω*, *had undertaken* (G. 119, 3). — *έκαστέρω*, *too far off* (to be of any use to you).

Page 116. — *τοιήδε . . . ψυχρή*, *such a service would prove to be cold*, i. e. too weak to be of use. — *φθαίητε . . . ήμέων*, *for you might be enslaved many times before any of us would hear* (G. 279, 2) : *πυθέσθαι* here follows *φθαίητε* ή from the force of *πρίν* implied in the verb (G. 274, N.); a rare construction. — *τιμωρέειν ού κακοίσι*, *no cowards to help*. — *συνεστέωτας*, v. *συνίστημι*, *coming in collision*. — *Βοιωτοίσι* : especially Thebans, who would object to the proposed union of Plataea and Athens.

12. *ούκ ήπίσθησαν*, i. e. they followed their advice. — *ποιούντων* is temporal. — *έπιτρεψάντων άμφοτέρων*, *both sides choosing them umpires*. — *ούρισαν* for *ώρισαν*, v. *όρίζω*. — *έάν . . . τελείν*, *that the Thebans should leave at liberty (έάν) those of the Boeotians who were unwilling to belong to the Boeotian league, which was under the exclusive control of Thebes*.

13. *έπεθήκαντο* (G. 110, III. 1, N. 1). — *έσσώθησαν* (for *ήσσο-*, v. *ήσσομαι*), *were defeated*. — *τούς . . . ούρους*, *the boundaries which, &c.* : *τούς* is relative.

14. *έγίνοντο δίχα*, *were divided*. — *τών μέν, &c.*, *one part voting not to engage*. — *όλίγους*, *too few*. — *τών δέ, &c.*, *the other, including Miltiades, urging it*. — *ένίκα ή χείρων*, *the more timid was likely to prevail* (imperfect). — *κυάμφ λαχών*, *elected by lot* (lit. *by the bean*). The polemarch was the third in rank of the nine archons, and he was originally (as his name denotes) a military commander. Soon after the Persian Wars, however, his duties were confined to the management of the affairs of foreigners resident at Athens, and military matters were left to the board of ten generals (*στρατηγοί*).

Page 117. — 15. *οιδέ, &c.*, *not even Harmodius and Aristogiton*, who delivered Athens by slaying Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus and brother of Hippias, who was then tyrant : they were from the same deme with Callimachus (Aphidnae). — *δέδοκται τά πεπονται*, *it is already determined what they shall suffer* : i. e. the tyranny of the Pisistratidae will be restored and the democracy abolished. — *περιγένηται*, *shall get the victory*. — *οὔη τέ έστι* (G. 151, N. 4). — *άνήκει ές σέ*, *has come up to you* [for decision]. — *έλπομαι*, *I anticipate*. — *στάσιν*, *commotion or civil conflict*. — *ώστε μηδίσαι*, *so that they will favor the Persians*, i. e. prove traitors to the national cause : in this verb *μηδίζω*, and often elsewhere, the Persians are incorrectly called *Medes* by the Greek writers. — *πρίν τι . . . έγγενέσθαι*, *before there come anything rotten (cowardly or corrupt) into one and another of the Athenians*. — *θεών . . . νεμόντων*, *if the Gods judge justly*. — *ήν έλη*, *if you prefer* (v. *αίρέω*). — *τών . . . άγαθών* (for *ών . . . άγαθών*), by attraction and assimilation (G. 154, N.) for *τών άγαθών* (G. 181, N.) *ά κατέλεξα*.



16. μετὰ δέ (G. 191, N. 2). — πρυτανήν τῆς ἡμέρης, *command for the day*, which passed in rotation through the whole board of ten generals: as one general belonged to each tribe, it is likely that the same order was followed here as in the ordinary succession of the tribes in the πρυτανεία, which was determined annually by lot (see note on § 17, below, and on Xen. Mem. § 18). — δεκόμενος = δεχόμενος. — οὐ . . . κω = οὐ . . . πω, *not yet*. — πρὶν, *until* (G. 240, 1).

Page 118. — 17. τότε, &c.: the right wing was the post of honor, as being most perilous, that side being unprotected by the shield; it was anciently assigned to the king. — ὡς ἡριθμέοντο, *in order, as they were numbered*; see note on § 16, above. — ἀπὸ ταύτης . . . σφί μάχης, *from their fighting in this battle*: for σφί (the Plataeans) see G. 184, 3, N. 4. — θυσίας . . . γινομένας, *when the Athenians celebrate the sacrifices and festivals which take place every four years*: this refers especially to the greater Panathenaic festival. — λέγων is parenthetical, and γίνεσθαι depends on κατεύχεται (G. 203, N. 2). — ἐξισούμενον, *extended to equal length*. — ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, *but a few ranks deep*.

18. ὡς δέ σφί διετέτακτο, impersonal (see G. 188, 3, second ex.) — ἀπέθησαν (v. ἀφίημι), *were allowed to advance* (lit. *let go or sent forth*) “like racers in the course” (Stein). — μανίην . . . ἐπέφερον, *they imputed madness*: in fact, only the admirable training of the Athenians saved them from being thrown into disorder, by which they must have perished. — ἵππου (fem.), *cavalry*. — ἀνέσχοντο ὀρέοντες, *endured to behold*. — ταύτην ἐσθημένους, *wearing it* (a peculiar word: G. 164; 197, 1, N. 2). — τέως, *till then*. — φόβος ἀκοῦσαι (G. 261, 2, N.).

19. μαχομένων, genitive absolute denoting time, *while they fought*. — τὸ μέσον (G. 160, 1), *at the centre*, like κατὰ τοῦτο ἐνίκων just below. — τῇ, *where*. — Σάκαι: these were Scythian bowmen, serving probably as mariners in the fleet, and efficient in land service. — ἐτετάχατο = τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. — ῥήξαντες, *breaking through*.

Page 119. — ἔων, *they suffered*, for εἶων. — τοῖς . . . ῥήξασι, dative after ἐμάχοντο. — φεύγουσι, *in their flight*. — Πέρσῃσι (G. 186, N. 1).

20. ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε, the verb is ἀπέθανε, the prepositions being separated by tmesis (G. 191, N. 3). — γενόμενος, *having proved himself*. — Κυνέγερος, a brother of the poet Aeschylus: he was attempting to climb into the ship by the stern-works (ἀφλάστων). — τὴν χεῖρα (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

21. ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, *backing water*. — ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 4). — αἰτίη, &c., *an accusation became current* (ἔσχε) *that they planned this by contrivance of the Alcmaeonidae*: this was a powerful family in Athens, at feud with Miltiades, — the same to which, in the next generation, Pericles belonged. — ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, *displayed a shield* (G. 203): this depends on the idea of saying in αἰτίη. This shield, “discernible from its polished surface afar off, was seen held aloft upon some high point of Attica, — perhaps on the summit of Mount Pentelicus. . . . A little less quickness on

the part of Miltiades in deciphering the treasonable signal and giving the instant order of march, — a little less energy on the part of the Athenian citizens in superadding a fatiguing march to a no less fatiguing combat, — and the Persians, with the partisans of Hippias, might have been found in possession of Athens. . . . Nothing could have rescued her, except that decisive and instantaneous attack which Miltiades so emphatically urged." Grote.

22. ποδῶν (G. 168, N. 3), genitive following τάχιστα, i. e. *at the top of their speed*. — ἐφθησαν ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 4). — πρὶν ἢ ἤκειν (G. 274, N.). — Κυνοσάργεϊ, a grove and gymnasium, eastward of the city, like the Academy (see note on Xen. Hellen. ii. 2. 8). — ὑπerrαιωρηθέντες, *lying off* (lit. *above*): in the same way the Greeks spoke of a vessel leaving the shore by ἀνάγεσθαι, and of one approaching the shore by κατάγεσθαι. Compare the active expression νέας ἀνακωχέυσαντες, *keeping the ships at anchor*, just below. — Φαλήρου, the old port of Athens (see map, and note on Xen. Hell. p. 42): at this time the Piræus had not been fortified.

23. συνήνεικε, v. συμφέρω, *it befell*.

Page 120. — πληγέντα, *struck* with sword or pike; βληθέντα, *hit* with arrow or javelin. — σκιάζειν (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

24. ἔχοντες . . . οὕτω, *making such haste to reach Athens in time for the battle*. — τριταῖοι, *on the third day from Sparta* (i. e. two days after leaving Sparta). Plato says that they arrived the day after the battle. — θηγήσασθαι (v. θεάομαι).

After the victory at Marathon, Miltiades procured an armament of seventy ships under his own command, for secret service, — which proved to be an attack on Paros, to revenge, says Herodotus, a private quarrel. He returned unsuccessful, and was impeached of treason by Xanthippus, father of Pericles. The penalty of death was commuted for a fine of fifty talents; and before this was paid, he died of a wound or bruise received in his escape from Paros. Meanwhile, the Greeks were left in security and peace, and the next invasion, under Xerxes, was delayed for a period of ten years.

The date of the battle of Marathon, according to the most satisfactory calculations, is September 12, B. C. 490. The account of the battle in Herodotus, although it is the best that we have, is very far from satisfactory. We have no detailed description of the movements, no account of the feeling in Athens either before or after the victory, no statement (even on conjecture) of the numbers engaged on either side. This silence on some points probably arose from the fact that the invasion of Xerxes was the chief object of interest in his history, and the invasion of Darius was looked upon chiefly as introductory to this. But on other points, especially as to the numbers, we may safely presume that he is silent simply because he had no authentic

information. He is very minute in giving the numbers of the slain, one of which at least (that of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians) he could have known from inscriptions. As to the numbers of the Persians, hardly a guess can be made: they are variously stated by later historians from 600,000 to 110,000, which last is the estimate of Cornelius Nepos. The same historian gives the number of Greeks as 10,000, including 9,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. Others give 10,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. If this estimate included only the heavy armed, and the usual addition is made for light armed, we shall make the whole Greek force consist of 20,000 or 22,000 men. (See Rawlinson, Appendix to Book VI.)

Herodotus does not mention cavalry in the battle, although he states that the field of Marathon was selected by the Persians because it was excellent for cavalry movements (*ἐμππεῦσαι*). We may suppose the cavalry to have been absent foraging on the day of the battle, which the Persians were not expecting (as Rawlinson suggests); or it may not yet have been landed, for some reason not given. At all events, no account is given of its re-embarkation, which would have been difficult after the defeat.

By the view given in Blakesley's "Excursus," the landing at Marathon was meant only for a lodgement. The region near held many partisans of Hippias, who were also formidable in the city; and if their expected movement had taken place, the Persians might have landed their cavalry, destroyed the little army of the Greeks, and occupied the country at their leisure. This plan was foiled by the generalship of Miltiades, who, after the two armies had held each other several days in check, *suddenly* extended his wings, and struck his blow so promptly that the Persians were beaten by sheer surprise. They even drove the Athenian centre in rout, as Herodotus says, into the interior (*μεσόγαίαν*); the wings, alone, had fled in "panic" flight, and perished in the marshes on the flanks, — the service rendered, at this crisis, by the god Pan. On the whole, the main force must have come off with small loss and in good order, the greatness of the victory being exaggerated by the patriotic pride of the Greeks. Their ships lay moored, stern to the shore, and were easily got off, only seven of the whole fleet being taken or sunk. The battle was won, not by the mere superior valor of the Greeks, but by the skill and energy of their commander, who for many days kept his little army safe from attack, in a well-chosen position, and fought when a longer delay might have been fatal; for the Persians were expecting a demonstration from the disloyal faction in Athens, which was prevented only by the promptness and completeness of his victory.



## II.

Page **120.** — 1. **κεχαραγμένον**, *exasperated*, lit. *sharply cut*: the same verb (**χαράσσω**) from which our own word *character* is derived. — **δεινότερα ἐποίεε**, comparative of **δαινά ποιεῖν**, *to take (a thing) ill*, *aegre ferre*.

Page **121.** — **ἐδονέετο**, *was kept in commotion* ("din"). — **ὥς . . . στρατευσομένων**, *since they were to attack Greece*: this phrase gives the reason of **ἀρίστων**.

2. **τετάρτῳ ἔτει**, i. e. probably in the summer of B. C. 487. — **Καμβύσῳ**: Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus the Great, had made Egypt a Persian province in 525 B. C. — **μᾶλλον ὥρμητο**, *was the more eager* (lit. *had been the more impelled*). — **στελλομένου**, *about proceeding*, i. e. getting ready his **στόλος**. — **παίδων**: the dispute was between Xerxes and Artabazanes. Xerxes, though the younger, was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, the queen of Darius. Through her he inherited his own claim of sovereignty, and she was now all-powerful at the Persian court. He had, besides, the claim of having been "born in the purple," after Darius came to the throne, — Artabazanes being son of a former wife. — **ἡγεμονίης**, *precedence* as to the succession. — **ὥς δέει** depends on the idea of *demanding* vaguely implied in **στάσις ἐγένετο**. — **οὕτω** refers back to **ἀποδέξαντα**: the meaning is, that after nominating a successor he should *so* set forth, i. e. he should *not* set forth *until* he had done this. — **παρασκευαζόμενον** agrees with **Δαρείον**, which is subject of **ἀποθανεῖν**. — **συνήνεικε**, *it happened*.

3. **καὶ Ξέρξης**: Herodotus represents that Xerxes was at first indifferent to the expedition against Greece, but was urged to it by Mardonius (afterwards slain at Plataea), who hoped to become satrap of Greece. In a royal council held after Egypt was subdued, Xerxes declared his intention to make the invasion by way of the Hellespont, and was supported by Mardonius, but dissuaded by his uncle Artabanus, his wisest counsellor, — who, however, yielded to the terror of a vision, which "threatened to burn out his eyes with hot irons" for his opposition to the will of destiny. He now "openly favored the expedition; and so Xerxes gathered together his host, ransacking every corner of the continent." — **ἐπὶ τέσσερα ἔτα, four full years**, counting from the reduction of Egypt in B. C. 485. — **ἀνομένῳ** (v. **ἄνω**), *advancing*, i. e. *in the course of the year*. — **χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος**, *with a mighty (hand of) force*: with this use of **χείρ** cf. Latin *manus*. — **στόλων**: this refers to the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, the great Scythian invasion of Media, the war of Troy, and the conquest of Thrace and Northern Greece, still earlier, by the Mysians and Teucrians; "yet not all these," says Herodotus, "nor all others which have ever been, were worthy to be compared with this single one." — **οἱ μὲν, &c.**, i. e. the several nations and districts subject to Xerxes. — **ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο**, *had orders for foot soldiers*: **τὸ πεζόν** means foot soldiers when opposed to

cavalry, but *land force* (in general) when opposed to a naval armament. — ἵππος (fem.), *cavalry*, “horse.” — ἄμα (G. 277, N. 1). — γεφύρας, see below, § 10.

4. τοῦτο μὲν (G. 148, N. 4), here with no correlative τοῦτο δέ. — ὥς implies that προσπταισάντων gives the reason of Xerxes for digging the canal through Athos (G. 277, N. 2) : for προσπταισάντων, see note on I. § 2. — προετομάζετο (impersonal), *preparations were made in advance*. — ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων, *from a time three years back*. — Ἐλαιούντι, *Elaeus*, at the extreme southwest point of the Chersonesus, was the base of the naval operations at Athos ; the military head-quarters were at Sestos, about eighteen miles above. — ὥρμεον is from ὀρμέω, while ὀρμέμενοι is an Ionic form (= ὀρμώμενοι) from ὀρμάω. — ὑπὸ μαστίγων, i. e. driven to their work by scourges. See below, § 21 ; and III. § 44, where Hdt. describes the Persians at Thermopylae as driven into the battle by scourges. — παντοδαποί, *various detachments*. — διάδοχοι, *in relays*.

Page 122. — 5. σχοινοτενές, *a straight line* (as if by a stretched cord). — βαθέα (for βαθεία) : at the greatest depth, the canal would be about sixty feet below the surface. — βάθρων, *stagings* : the Phoenicians, according to Herodotus, were the only ones skilful enough in engineering to avoid the caving in of the banks by beginning the excavation with double the width required at the bottom. — πρητήριον, Ion. for πρᾶτήριον, *a market, a place for selling*, from πρᾶ- (stem of πιπράσκω). — ἀληλεσμένος (v. ἀλέω), *ready ground*.

6. ὥς . . . εὐρίσκειν, *so far as I can find out* (G. 268) : in fact, it was not a very difficult work, and was highly politic, especially in case Greece should be subjugated. The canal, which has been traced, “is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across ; it has been much filled up with mud and rushes.” — παρεόν (G. 278, 2), *when it was in his power*. — διειρύσαι, *to haul across*, an operation easily performed with the light vessels of the ancients. — εὖρος ὥς . . . πλώειν, *of [such] width that two triremes could pass through* (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐλαστρεμένas (for ἐλαυνομένas), *driven by oars*. — ζεύξαντας γεφυρώσαι, *simply to bridge the river* : the Greeks said ποταμὸν ζεῦξαι (§ 8) and ποταμὸν γεφυρώσαι, and Hdt. has even γεφύρας ζευγνύων.

7. Κριτάλλων, the frontier town of Cappadocia. — γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, see below, § 28. — δειπνα, see below, § 25.

Page 123. — 8. οἱ δέ : those who had charge of the work (see τοῖσι προσεκέετο below). — ἐξεύγνυσαν, *were* (in the mean time) *building*. — τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δέ : understand γέφυραν from ἐγεφύρουν above. — βυβλίνην, *of papyrus* : this plant was used by the Egyptians for ropes as well as for paper. — ἔστι . . . στάδιοι (G. 135, N. 5).

9. ἐπικέσθαι μαστίγι (= μαστιγῶσαι), *to scourge*, here takes πληγὰς as a cognate accusative (G. 159), *to strike the stream three hundred blows with a lash*. Understand τινὰς as subject of both ἐπικέσθαι (v. ἐφικνέομαι) and κατεῖναι (v. καθίημι). — ποταμῷ : the current, about three miles an hour, gives the Hellespont the aspect of a river.

10. τὰς δέ, *the bridges*. — ὑπό, *under*, as a support. — ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριακοσίας: the upper bridge may have been made stronger (of three hundred and sixty vessels) to resist the greater force of the stream; or it may have been at a broader part of the channel, which is here about a mile wide. (See Grote's note.) — τοῦ μὲν . . . κατὰ ῥόον, *at right angles with the Pontus, and in the line of the current of the Hellespont* (to diminish the resistance). — ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ, *that it [this arrangement of vessels] might ease* (i. e. by lifting) *the strain on the tackle*: ἀνακωχεύω (kindred to ἀνέχω) means *to hold up*, with the idea of *relieving or keeping quiet* (see ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας, *keeping the ships off the coast*, in I. § 22): so ἀνακωχή means *a truce*. It is hard to see why (according to the common interpretation, *that the force of the stream might keep up the tension of the cables*, i. e. *keep them taut*) there should be any anxiety to provide for the tension of cables which were stretched over a strait a mile wide, and rested on vessels in a stream running three miles an hour! — συνθέντες is repeated after the long parenthesis. — τὰς μὲν . . . τῆς ἐτέρης, [they cast] *those* (ἀγκύρας) *of [the ships forming] one bridge towards the Pontus*. — εἵνεκεν, *to guard against*. — ἔσωθεν, i. e. from the Euxine. — τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης, i. e. the *anchors of the other bridge*. — πρὸς ἐσπέρας, sc. κατήκαν. — εὐρου, νότου: these were southeast and south winds, both blowing more or less up stream.

Page 124. — διέκπλοον: the small craft (πλοῖα λεπτά) would pass in and out underneath the cables.

11. χωρὶς ἐκάτερα, i. e. the flaxen cables and those of papyrus. — εἵλκε, *weighed*: if the talent here meant is the Euboean, or old Attic, a cubit (eighteen inches) weighed nearly eighty pounds. — τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, *the stretching of the cables*, i. e. *the cables, as they were stretched across the strait*. — ἐπέξεύγνυον, *joined them above*, either by ropes or by strips of wood.

12. χυτοί, *breakwaters*. — ῥήχης, *surf*: the tide in this sea being very slight. — ὁ ἥλιος: no eclipse of the sun, visible at Sardis, took place in B. C. 480, if the latest astronomical calculations can be trusted; the story here told may belong to the departure from Susa in the preceding year, when there was such an eclipse. The date of the invasion of Xerxes (B. C. 480) is too well established to admit of doubt. — ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, genitive absolute: the indicative would be ἐπινεφέλα ἐστίν, *it is cloudy* (G. 135, 2). — αἰθρίης (noun), *in fair weather*, is genitive of time (G. 179, 1). — τὸ ἐθέλοι (= τί ἐθέλοι), τό being relative used interrogatively (G. 282, 1). — προδέκτορα, verbal of προδείκνυμι, *that which designates or foreshows*.

Page 125. — 13. ἀναμίξ, i. e. not divided into separate bodies, as they marched according to cities or provinces. — διελέλειπτο, impersonal. — οὔτοι, *these*, who marched in advance. — προηγέυντο, i. e. led the part of the army which accompanied the king; opposed to οὔτοι. — κάτω τρέψαντες, this was a mark of respect to the king, who followed them. — ἄρμα Διός: by Zeus Hdt. means the chief God of the Persians, Auramazda or Ormuzd.



14. λόγος, *choice or fancy*. — κατὰ νόμον, i. e. with point upward. — οὔτος, the ten thousand just mentioned. — ροιάς, *pomegranates*, probably as sacred emblems. — ἀντὶ σαυρωτήρων, *in the place of points at the lower end*. — οἱ . . . τράποντες (Ion. for τρέποντες, present), *those who preceded the Nisæan horses* (§ 13).

Page 126. — 15. Σκάμανδρον, the *Scamander* of the *Iliad*: here a shallow brook, in a bed about two hundred feet broad; in the dry season only three feet deep. — ῥέεθρον (G. 160, 1). — οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε . . . πινόμενος, *and did not have water sufficient for the army to drink* (lit. *did not suffice when drunk, &c.*). — ὥς ἀπρίκετο repeats the genitive absolute ἀπικομένου after the long relative clause.

16. "On this transit from Asia into Europe, Herodotus dwells with peculiar emphasis; and well he might do so, since when we consider the bridges, the invading number, the unmeasured hopes succeeded by no less unmeasured calamity, it will appear not only to have been the most imposing event of his century, but to rank among the most imposing events of all history." Grote. — καὶ . . . γάρ are here to be separated, *and—as (for) a seat had been erected for him here, &c.* (See note on I. § 5, above.) — ἐθηέτο = ἐθεάτο. — ὥρα = ἑώρα, imperfect of ὀράω.

17. ὦνήρ = ὁ ἀνὴρ. — φρασθεῖς, *perceiving* (see *Lexicon*). — ὥς . . . εἰ περιέσται, the direct exclamation would be, πῶς . . . ἐστίν, εἰ περιέσται; *how short is the whole of man's life, if no one . . . is to be alive, &c.* (G. 221, N.).

Page 127. — the second οὕτω qualifies εὐδαίμων. — τῷ (G. 237, N.). — γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, *after giving [man] a taste of the sweetness of life*, lit. *a taste of life as (being) sweet*. — φθονερός, *jealous*, i. e. lest man should vie with him in blessedness.

18. τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρητίζων, *wanting this* (G. 148, N. 1) *of you*: so δέομαι occasionally takes two genitives, instead of the common construction (G. 172, N. 1). — ξυνὸν . . . σπεύδεται, *for this which we are seeking is for the good of all in common*: the construction being τοῦτο γὰρ σπεύδεται (passive) [δν] ἀγαθὸν πᾶσι ξυνόν: the adjective ξυνός = κοινός. — ἐντεταμένως, *vigorously* (adverb formed from participle of ἐντείνω). — τῶν (= ὧν) for καὶ τούτων. — οὐ μή τις . . . ἀντιστῇ (2 aorist), an emphatic future expression (G. 257). — λελόγχασι (v. λαγχάνω), *have in charge* (as if assigned by lot): cf. Latin sortiti sunt.

19. τὸν ἥλιον, the Sun, under the name of *Mithra*, was one of the chief objects of worship in the Persian religion.

Page 128. — ἥ μιν παύσει (G. 236). — πρότερον ἢ . . . γένηται, = πρὶν ἂν . . . γένηται (G. 240, N.). — ἀκινάκην, a short, straight-pointed sword, or dirk. — μαστιγώσαντι (G. 277, 2).

20. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, i. e. after the chariot. — ἀνήγοντο, *put off* form the shore.

21. εἰδόμενος, *likening thyself*; θέμενος, *taking to thyself*. — ἐξήν . . . ποιέειν (G. 222, N. 2).

22. τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, accusative governed by the phrase ξέω πλώων, as if it were a compound verb like ἐκλείπειν, which takes the accusative. — πρήσσω τὰ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ πεζοῦ, *taking the opposite direction from the land force* (lit. *doing the opposite*), i. e. sailing southwest towards the Aegean, while the army marched northeast into Thrace. — Δορίσκον: this was a strong Persian fortress, which had been held since the invasion of Scythia by Darius. (See note on I. § 6.)

Page 129. — 23. πλήθεος ἀριθμόν, *number of people*. — τοῦ πεζοῦ, *of the foot-soldiers* (as we know from Hdt. VII. 184, where the cavalry are estimated at 80,000 in addition to this number. — τὸ πλῆθος: by this reckoning, 1,700,000 men, a very uncertain estimate, as the numbers might easily be exaggerated in the loose way of counting. Ctesias makes 800,000, and Aelian 700,000; but “we may well believe,” says Mr. Grote, “that the numbers of Xerxes were greater than were ever assembled in ancient times, or perhaps at any known epoch of history.” — συννάξαντες ταύτην, i. e. τὴν μυριάδα. Compare κατανάξαντες τὴν γῆν in § 11, above. — ὕψος (G. 160, 1).

24. διεξέλασας (G. 138, N. 8) θηήσασθαι, *to see them in review* (G. 204, N. 2). — μετά, *afterwards*. — ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί: these lists, it has been thought, may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, and been the authority for the account of Hdt. (see Rawlinson). — ὅσον τε τέσσαρα, *about four*; τέ being used by Hdt. after ὅσος, as it is even in Attic Greek after οἶος, *able* (G. 151, N. 4). — ἀνεκώχεον (v. ἀνακωχέω). See I. § 22.

Page 130. — ἐντός, *between*, governs both πρῶρρόν and αἰγιαλόν.

25. τοὺς . . . ἐμποδών, *whoever came in his way*. — ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ, *into all sorts of distress*. — ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, *lost house and home*. — ὅκου (= ὅπου), *at which time*. — Θασιόισι . . . ἀπέδεξε (v. ἀποδείκνυμι), *rendered an account to the Thasians for 400 talents spent* (about \$400,000). Compare ἀποδεικνύναι λόγον. — ἀραιρημένος (v. αἰρέω), *appointed* (to manage the business).

Herodotus adds: “As soon as the herald’s message came, the people would distribute their stores of grain, and proceed to grind wheat and barley-flour for many months’ supply; then buy up and fatten the finest cattle; feed poultry and waterfowl in pens and coops for the service of the army; and provide gold and silver drinking-cups and bowls. These things for the king’s table only; for the others, food alone. When the army arrived, a tent stood ready spread, in which Xerxes took his rest, while the troops remained in the open air. When dinner-time came, great was the toil of the entertainers; and after spending the night well fed, the army next day tore down the tent, and carried off all it held, leaving nothing.”

26. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, *a saying well expressed, a bon mot*. — καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, *also for the future* (as they had done in the present case). — παρέχειν ἄν, = παρείχεν ἄν (G. 211); depends on the idea of *saying* implied in

συνεβούλευσε: *for it would have subjected them to the alternative, &c.* — κάκιστα, &c., *by the worst fate that ever befell men.* (G. 168.)

27. ὑπομένειν, *to wait (for him).* — ἀπῆκε (v. ἀφίημι), *sent off.* — Θέρμη δέ τῇ . . . οἰκημένη, *and [I mean] Therma which is situated, &c.*

The account of the march of Xerxes from Doriscus (§ 25) to Acanthus (§ 27), which is chiefly descriptive, is here omitted. Acanthus is just northwest of the Isthmus of Mount Athos, through which the canal (§ 4) had been dug by order of Xerxes. Here therefore, as is stated in § 27, the king separated from his fleet, sending it through the canal and round the two western capes of Chalcidice to the head of the Gulf of Therma. The only account given by Herodotus of the passage of the fleet through the canal is in the words (VII. 122), διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην. The fleet remained at Therma until its departure for the coast of Thessaly (p. 137, § 5).

Meanwhile Xerxes marched with his army across Chalcidice, from Acanthus to Therma. On the way (according to Hdt. VII. 125) the camels which carried the provisions were attacked by lions (?). On reaching Therma, they encamped on the shore of the Gulf, the camp extending from Therma to the mouth of the Haliacmon on the western coast. South of this river and north of Mount Olympus was Pieria, celebrated as the birthplace and the home of the nine Muses. In this region Xerxes remained (§ 28), until he began his march of eleven or twelve days to Thermopylae (p. 140, § 13).

28. κήρυκες: see p. 122, § 7. — κεινοί (= κενοί), *empty-handed.*

Page 131. — ἔταμον ὄρκιον: cf. Latin *ferire foedus*. — καταστάντων εὖ, *having come into (i. e. being in) a good condition.* — σφί (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — δεκατεῦσαι (causal) depends on ὄρκιον εἶχε, as if it were *they took an oath to, &c.* (G. 271).

29. Δαρείου πέμψαντος: see p. 112, § 2. — οἱ μὲν, the Athenians. — τὸ βάραθρον, *the pit*: this was a deep hole at Athens, like a well, into which the dead bodies of executed criminals (and sometimes even living criminals) were cast, iron hooks in the sides tearing the body to pieces as it fell. Miltiades is said to have counselled this act, wishing to commit the city to inexpiable hostility against Persia. — συνήνεικε (v. συμφέρω) γενέσθαι, *chanced to befall.* — ἀνεθέλητον, lit. *unwelcome*, belongs to ὅ τι. — In later times it was believed that the misfortunes of Miltiades were the retribution of this impiety. In Sparta, the wrath of the hero Talthybius, herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the state, and would not be appeased until two noble Spartans had offered themselves in expiation, and surrendered themselves to the Persians; Xerxes, however, generously spared their lives. But their sons, when proceeding as Spartan envoys to Persia, during the Peloponnesian War, were captured by the Athenians and put to death. Then at length, sixty years after it was committed, the crime against the ambassadors of Darius was atoned.

30. κατίετο, *was sent forth.* — οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι, *likely to suffer no harm.*



31. *ἔξέργομαι, I am constrained.* Herodotus is writing some fifty years after the Persian wars, when Athens was unpopular in consequence of the extent of her empire.

Page **132.** — *ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι, would have attempted opposition:* in Hdt. *πειράομαι* takes the participle like the verbs mentioned in G. 279, 4, N. — *ἦντιούτο* and *ἐγίγνετο* both refer to past time, like *ἐπειρῶντο* *ἄν* above (G. 222). — *εἰ καὶ πολλαί, i. e. no matter how many.* — *κιθῶνες* (Ionic for *χιτῶνες*), an unusual expression for *walls*: Hdt. once calls a wall a *θῶρηξ* (I. 181), and Demades the orator uses *ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως* in the same sense. (Krüger.) Compare the English *curtain* of a fortress. — *ἐλληλαμένοι διά, extended across.* — *προδοθέντες ἄν . . . ἐμουνῶθησαν: ἄν* belongs to the verb (*not* to the participle). So below, in *μουνῶντες ἄν . . . ἀπέθανον*: in § 32, *ὀρέοντες ἄν . . . ἄν ἐχρήσαντο*, we find *ἄν* repeated on account of the length of the sentence, as it might have been in the two other cases. (See G. 212, 2; and also *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, Note 1).

32. *πρὸ τοῦ, beforehand* (G. 143, 2). — *βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος*, protasis to *ἦν ἄν, = εἰ βασιλεὺς ἐπεκράτее* (G. 226, 1). — *ἄν τις λέγων: ἄν* belongs to *ἁμαρτάνοι*: see last note on § 31, above. — *τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* (accusative after *ἐγείραντες*) = *τούτους τοὺς Ἕλληνας*.

Page **133.** — 33. The oracles are in hexameter verse (G. 295, 4), and the language is generally an imitation of the Homeric; the constructions are often confused, as would be expected from the fact that the verses were (or purported to be) spoken under the inspiration of the moment. (1.) *φεῦγ'* is addressed to the whole people represented by the messengers, as if it were but one person. — *ἔσχατα γαίης, to the ends of the earth* (G. 162). (2.) *δῶματα* and *κάρηνα* are governed by *λιπών*. — *τροχοειδέος* refers to the walls of Athens, which made an irregular circuit around the Acropolis or citadel. (3.) *ἔμπεδον* (as adverb), *firm, in its place*. (4.) *μέσσης* (for *μέσης*), sc. *πόλεως*. (5.) *κατά* belongs to *ἐρείπει* (G. 191, N. 3). (6.) *Συριηγενές, i. e. Assyrian*: the Persians, who were highlanders, having learned the use of chariots from the Assyrians of the plain. — *διώκων, driving*: in the Persians of Aeschylus (vs. 33), Xerxes is said to come *Σύριον ἄρμα διώκων*. (7.) *ἀπολεῖ*, sc. *Ἄρης*. (8.) *ιδρώτι ρεοῦμενοι, dripping with sweat*, in their terror. (9.) *κατά* belongs to *κέχυνται*: the meaning seems to be that *blood falls in showers from the temple roofs*, in which case the dative *ὀρόφοισι* must be explained as in certain Homeric constructions (G. 184, 3, N. 1–4). But *καταχέω* generally takes the dative in Homer (as the genitive in Attic) in the sense *shower down upon*, which does not suit the present passage as well, but perhaps is correct. — (10.) *προῦδόν, foreboding*, as if the blood were itself terrified. (11.) *ἴτον*, apparently addressed to *two* messengers; but the plural follows immediately. — *ἐπικίδνατε, &c., deluge your souls with woes* (*perfundite animum malis*, Stein); or (as Liddell and Scott translate), *spread a brave spirit*

*over your ills*: the former suits the context better: κίδνημι is kindred to σκεδάννυμι, *scatter*.

34. ἐχρέοντο, *felt themselves in*. — προβάλλουσι σφείας αὐτούς, *abandoning themselves to despair* (dat. after συνεβούλευε). — ἰκετηρίας (ράβδους), *the suppliant olive-branches*. — ἐλθόντας agrees with the omitted subject of χρᾶσθαι, instead of taking the case of σφί (G. 138, N. 8). — ὦναξ (= ὦ ἄναξ): for the special sense of the title ἄναξ in Homer, see Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 152, according to whom it corresponds nearest with the partly religious and partly feudal term *Lord*. — ἔστ' ἂν τελευτήσωμεν (G. 239, 2).

35. λέγουσι (dative), *as they spoke*. (2.) λισσομένη (G. 277, 5). (3.) ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας (sc. αὐτό), *making it like* (i. e. *firm as*) *adamant*. (4.) οὔρος may be either for ὄρος, *mount, hill*, or for ὄρος, *boundary*: it may mean, therefore, either the Acropolis of Athens or the bounds of Attica. Cecrops is one of the early (mythical) kings of Athens, in whose reign (says Hdt.) the people were called Κεκροπίδαι. (5.) Κιθαιρώνος, the boundary of Attica towards Delphi (see map). (6.) τεῖχος ξύλινον, this is the celebrated *wooden wall* of the oracle. (8.) μένειν, infinitive for imperative.

Page 134. — (10.) ἔτι . . . ἔσση, *yet a day shall come* (ποτέ) *when thou shalt meet him*. (12.) Rawlinson translates

“When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest.”

36. συνεστηκῦναι, *opposed*, like wrestlers who *stand together* in the ring. — ῥήχῳ, *palisade*: there were a few who clung to this interpretation, and perished on the sacred hill (see IV. § 34). — κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν . . . εἶναι, *was* (used) *with reference to*, &c. — τοῦτο, *this expression*. — συνεχέοντο, *were confounded* (con-fusi).

37. Θεμιστοκλῆς, a Greek of the Greeks, able, keen-witted, patriotic, and unscrupulous: the man who by his single counsel proved the deliverer of Greece. — εἰ . . . ἐόντως, *if the saying had really been uttered with reference to the Athenians* (εἶχε . . . εἰρημένον = εἶρητο: Stein). — οὐκ ἂν . . . χρησθῆναι = οὐκ ἂν ἐχρήσθη (G. 211). — μὴν δοκέειν, (he said) *that he believed*. — τῷ θεῷ, *by the God* (G. 188, 3).

Page 135. — συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, *to one judging rightly* (G. 184, 5): Themistocles may probably have devised the oracle, as well as the interpretation, wishing to impress the deepest terror at the real danger, so as to overcome the timid clinging to the city, and persuade the people to accept the only chance of safety. — τούτου, *this*, refers to παρασκευάζεσθαι . . . ναυμαχῆσοντας: i. e. the *ships* (here implied) were the *wooden wall* of the oracle. — ἐγνώσαν, *decided* (G. 200, N. 5 b): σφί belongs to αἰρετώτερα. — τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι (G. 268, N.), *in short*.

38. ἐς καιρὸν ἥριστευσε, *prevailed* (proved to be best) *seasonably*. — τῶν ὑπὸ Δαυρείου (G. 191, N. 6) belongs to μετὰλλων. — ὀρχηδόν, *in shares*, *to each male citizen*. If Hdt. is right (V. 97) is estimating the Athenian

citizens at thirty thousand, the sum must have been fifty talents (about fifty thousand dollars). — δέκα δραχμάς, about two dollars. — χρημάτων, genitive of price. — διηκοσίας: as Athens had only two hundred ships at Salamis, and must have had a fleet before this resolution of Themistocles (Miltiades sailed to Paros just after the battle of Marathon with seventy ships), and as fifty talents are an incredibly small sum for building two hundred ships of war, we must understand Hdt. to mean that this money was used (with other sums from the treasury) in building the fleet of two hundred ships which fought at Salamis. Plutarch (Them. IV.) says the money from the mines was used in building one hundred ships. — τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας: see above, I. § 3. The Aeginetans at this time had the finest navy in Greece, and they were called θαλασσοκράτορες, *rulers of the sea*, during the ten years from 490 to 480 B. C. Plutarch says of them at this time, κατεῖχον οἱ Αἰγινῆται πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν. — ἐς τό, *for what* (for the purpose for which). — ἐς δέον, nearly equivalent to ἐς καιρόν, *seasonably*. — τοῖσι βουλομένοισι (G. 186).

39. ἐς τῷτό, *into one place*, probably the Isthmus of Corinth, afterwards the place of meeting of various councils of war (see below, III. § 1). — σφίσιν, *to each other*, as reflexive in sense of reciprocal (G. 146, N. 3; 144, 2). — πρῶτον . . . πάντων, *first of all things*: according to Plutarch, Themistocles proposed this general reconciliation. — ἐγκεκρημένοι (which is an emendation for ἐγκεχρημένοι), from ἐγκεράννυμι: the wars are said to have been *mixed up* or *concocted*. See πόλεμος συνήπτο above, I. § 3.

Page 136. — πρηγμάτων, objective genitive. — φρονήσαντες εἰ κως ἔν τε γένοιτο, &c.: the sense is, they resolved to send these spies and messengers, *having formed a wise plan* (φρονήσαντες) *in case the Greek race should in any way become united, &c.* The apodosis to εἰ . . . γένοιτο . . . πρήσσοιεν is suppressed (G. 226, N.), being implied in the context: i. e. *their plan would succeed* (or the like) in case of union. See Hdt. VI. 52: βουλομένην εἰ κως ἀμφοτέροι γενοίετο βασιλείες, *wishing that both might in some way become kings*, lit. *having a wish* (which would be realized) *in case both should in some way become kings*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 53, N. 2). — ὥς . . . ἐπιόντων gives the ground on which the Greeks acted (G. 277, N. 2).

In the narrative which follows, the spies sent to Persia are taken and brought before Xerxes, who “gave orders to his guard to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart’s content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired,” — thinking he was thus surest to terrify the Greeks from all thought of resistance. Argos jealously refused the alliance, unless she should have equal command with Sparta, claiming that the supreme authority was justly hers, by right of descent from Agamemnon. She was even charged with having invited the Persians to the invasion of Greece. Gelo (whose exploits in Sicily are told at length) refused his aid, unless he should be put in supreme com-



mand, -- to which the Greeks retorted that they came "to ask for an army, and not a general"; so Gelo stood ready to submit if the Persians were victorious. He afterwards claimed, however, that he would have helped the Greeks but for the embarrassment of a war with Hamilcar of Carthage. Corcyra promised help, but kept back her fleet (under pretence of head winds) till the crisis was past. The Cretans refused to assist, having once suffered calamity from Minos (who had perished in his pursuit of Daedalus) for the aid given by Idomeneus in the Trojan war. And the Thesalians submitted, reluctantly, to overwhelming force.

### III.

Page 136. — 1. τῇ (= ᾗ), *where* (in what region). — ἐν οἷσι χώροι-σι, *on what sort of ground*. — ἐσβολήν, i. e. from Thessaly into Central Greece. — τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, i. e. the pass of Tempe, at the mouth of the Peneius. Herodotus gives three reasons why the pass of Thermopylae was preferred: the second (καὶ μία), that it was *single*, refers to the Persians having entered Thessaly by another route, and not by Tempe as was expected; and to justify the choice on this ground, he mentions the ignorance of the Greeks as to the mountain pass, τὴν ἄτραπον, by which Thermopylae was finally turned. — Ἰστιαίητιδος, the territory of Histiaea (afterwards Oreus) in the north of Euboea. (For the bearing of these places, see a map of Greece.) This position was chosen to prevent the Persian fleet from taking the flank or rear of their force at Thermopylae.

2. τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, *first, as to Artemisium*: τοῦτο μὲν corresponds to ἡ δὲ αὖ . . . ἔσδος (i. e. the pass of Thermopylae) below. — ἐκ . . . Θρηϊκίου, *after (coming from) the Thracian sea*. — συνάγεται (sc. τὸ πέλαγος) ἐς . . . τὸν πόρον, *it (the sea) contracts into the strait, &c.* — ἐκ τοῦ στεινοῦ δέκεται, i. e. *after passing the strait, the shore (of) Artemisium in Euboea (possessive genitive) comes next*: δέκεται is used like ἐκδέχεται and ὑποδέχεται (§ 3), *excipit*. — ἡμίπλεθρον, about 50 feet. The line of the coast is now much farther from the hill, owing to the deposits made by the river. Rawlinson says: "The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width." — τὸ στενότερον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, *the narrowest part of the whole pass*: τῆς ἄλλης is used as Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian war as ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, *lit. the most notable of those which had preceded it*; and as we often hear a thing called "the most perfect of all others." See map of Thermopylae at the end of the volume.

Page 137. — 3. τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης (G. 160, 2), *towards the west*: in fact, more nearly towards the south; Hdt. thought of the coast as lying from north to south. — χύτροις, *caldrons*: of these there are two, enclosed in masonry. The hot springs of Thermopylae are salt, and of the

temperature of 100° Fahr. — **Ἡρακλῆος**: it was said that these springs were created miraculously that Hercules might have a warm bath after one of his labors. — **τὴν Αἰολίδα**, *the Aeolian land*, the more ancient name of Thessaly. This irruption of Thessalians from Epirus is one of the earliest movements mentioned in the traditions of the race afterwards called Hellenic. Thucydides (I. 12) speaks of the migration of Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly into the land afterwards called Boeotia, a result of this Thessalian migration; and he assigns the sixtieth year after the capture of Troy as its date. — **ἐπήκαν**, *conducted* (by trenches). — **ὥς ἄν**: Homer and Hdt. sometimes used **ὥς ἄν** and **ὅπως ἄν** with the optative, as all writers do with the subjunctive, without affecting the sense (G. 216, 1, N. 2). Here the **ἄν** belongs to the particle, not to the verb (G. 207, 2); in Attic Greek, such an **ἄν** would belong to the verb and form an apodosis.

4. **ἐν Πιερίῃ**: see note on II. § 27, above. — **διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ**, *breaking up* [at, and departing] *from the Isthmus*.

Page 138. — 5. **τὸν Σκιαῶν** (G. 182, 2). — **Τροϊζηνίῃ**: this ship was captured by the Persians, who (as Hdt. adds) “took the handsomest man on board, and sacrificed him at the ship’s prow,” reckoning it a good omen, — the more so as the man’s name was *Leon*. The two other triremes were taken; but the crew of the Athenian ship escaped. On hearing of this advance of the Persian fleet, the Greeks left their anchorage at Artemisium, and retreated to Chalcis on the western coast of Euboea.

6. **περὶ τὸ ἔρμα**, *upon the reef*: this still lies in the mid-channel. — **κομίσαντες**, *having brought it* (the column) for this purpose. — **καθαρόν**, *removed*, i. e. by being made harmless. — **ἐνδεκα ἡμέρας**: see note on II. § 27, above. — **πανημερὸν πλώοντες**: the distance is about 100 miles. — **τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας**, possessive genitive with the following accusatives. — **στρατός**, the whole *armament* (army and navy).

In the estimate which follows (VII. 184–187, here omitted), Herodotus makes the whole Persian armament, including army and navy, before the battle of Thermopylae and before the storm, to consist of 2,641,610 men. To the number of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers counted in the review at Doriscus (see above, II. § 23), he now adds 80,000 for the cavalry, 517,610 for the crews and marines of the fleet, 20,000 for Arabs with camels and Libyans with chariots, and lastly 324,000 for the land and sea forces furnished by the Thracians, Macedonians, and Thessalians, whom Xerxes had pressed into his service since he entered Europe (see II. § 25). This immense total of 2,641,610 Herodotus proposes to double, to include all the non-combatants (attendants, crews of corn-vessels, and camp-followers). giving a grand total for the entire host of 5,283,220! Rawlinson, on various grounds, reduces the estimates for the military force to about 1,500,000, taking no account of the still greater exaggerations in the number of non-combatants. “Of all these myriads,” says Herodotus, “there was not one who for beauty and stature better deserved to hold this vast power than Xerxes himself.”

7. **πρόκροσσαι** . . . **νέας**, *they lay at anchor, arranged alternately* (or in a *quincunx*), *heading seaward, and eight rows deep*. The scholia on II. XIV. 35 explain **προκρόσσας** (sc. **νῆας**) **ἔρυσαν** as follows: **ἄλλην πρὸ ἄλλης παραλλήλως ἀνέικυσαν κλιμακῆδόν**, i. e. *they drew them up in parallel rows like steps*; Aristarchus adds, that this would give the appearance of a *theatre*, **κρόσσαι γὰρ αἱ κλίμακες**. This means the seats of the Greek theatre, which were *steps* like those of a modern circus; and we may refer **κλιμακῆδόν** (= **πρόκροσσαι**) to the general appearance of the ships from the sea, which, if they were arranged (for example) as in the figure, might suggest the idea of a *cuneus* in the theatre, especially if the shore were curved, and if the inner rows of ships were drawn up (as here) on a sloping beach. In II. 125, Hdt. says that the *steps* on the outside of the pyramids of Egypt were sometimes called **κρόσσαι**. We may, however, refer **κλιμακῆδόν** to the irregular lines in which the ships were arranged from front to rear (as in the second figure). For another explanation, opposed to that of Aristarchus, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. **πρόκροσσοι**. — **οὕτω** (sc. **ὥρμεον**). — **ξεσάσης**, *having become seething* (i. e. before the storm burst). — **ἀπηλιώτης** (**ἀπό-ἥλιος**), properly an *east wind*, here (*east-northeast*, referring to the **Ἑλλησποντίας**. — **τοῖσι** . . . **ὄρμου**, *who were so anchored* (as to allow it): for **οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου** (impersonal), see G. 168, N. 3. — **οἱ δέ** (G. 234; 227, 2), *these*. — **ἀνασπάσαντες** (G. 279, 4). — **μεταρσίας**, *at sea*. — **ἔλαβε** (sc. **ὁ χειμών**). — **Ἴπνους**, *Ovens*: see below. — **τοῦ χειμῶνος χρήμα**, *the matter of the storm*, a common expression for *the storm*: cf. **ὕδς χρήμα μέγα**, *a huge wild boar* (Hdt. I. 36).



Most writers place Sepias, the rocky headland on which the Persian fleet was wrecked, near the southeastern point of Magnesia, or even (as Grote) beyond that point upon the southern coast. For the following account of the topography we are indebted to Professor Sophocles, who was born on the coast of Magnesia, and who has known the whole shore as a boy and studied it as a scholar:—

The east-northeast wind, the **Ἑλλησποντίας** of the ancients, is still the terror of navigators on the “harborless coast of Pelion” (Eurip. *Alcest.* 595). But it is dreaded chiefly *north* of Cape Nekhóri; a vessel overtaken by the wind south of this point can easily enter the channel between Thessaly and Euboea. The rocky headland directly east of the highest point of Pelion agrees best with the accounts of Sepias. Between this and the probable site of Casthanaia (four miles below) are two beaches, separated by a point of rocks. North of Sepias is another small beach, beyond which are several caves in the steep cliffs (**ἐν Πηλῳ**), which are probably the **Ἴπνοι** or *Ovens*. On these three beaches the fleet must have been drawn up, and here the disaster must have occurred.



Page **139**. — 8. Ὀρείθυιαν: Orithyia, daughter of the Attic king Erechtheus, was said to have been carried off by Boreas (the northeast wind), as she was picking flowers on the banks of the Ilissus. The story is pleasantly told in the beginning of Plato's *Phaedrus*. — ὥρμηται, *has gone forth or spread*. — περὶ Ἄθων: see above, I. § 4, and note on I. § 2.

9. λέγουσι διαφθαρήναι is understood with οὐκ ἐλάσσονας. — γηοχέοντι, *being a landholder* (γήοχος or γαιήοχος). — καὶ τοῦτον, *him too* (as well as other men), object of λυπεῖσα. — συμφορὴ . . . παιδοφόνος, *a calamity afflicting him by the death of a child (or children)*: this seems to imply that he was accidentally the cause of his child's (or children's) death.

10. οὐκ ἐπὴν ἄριθμος, *there was no reckoning*. — καταειδόντες γόησι, *singing incantations by enchanters*: γόησι is suspected by many recent editors. — ἀνέμῳ belongs to both participles. — Θέτι, *Thetis*, the sea-goddess, mother of Achilles. It was said that the place at which Thetis was seized by Peleus was called Sepias, because she there changed herself into a cuttlefish (σηπία) to escape her lover.

Page **140**. — 11. ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο: see note on § 5, above. — ἐπωνυμίην . . . νομίζοντες, *keeping up the name*, i. e. continuing to invoke Poseidon with this title of *Saviour*.

12. τὴν ἄκρην: the southeast cape of Thessaly, often mistaken for Sepias itself. — ἰθέαν (sc. ὁδόν), *straight*. — φέροντα, *leading* (Pagasae being at the head of the bay, the Gulf of Volo). — εὖτ' . . . ἔπλεον, i. e. on the Argonautic expedition, τὸ κῶας being the famous Golden Fleece. — Ἀφεταί, *Aphetae*, or place of *departure*, from ἀφίημι (through ἀφετος) in its neuter sense seen in ἀφήσειν, *to set sail*.

13. πορευθείς: see note on II. § 27, above. — ἐς Μηλιάς, i. e. into the land of the Malians, at the head of the Gulf of Malis, in whose territory was the outer end of the pass of Thermopylae. — τὸ ῥέεθρον (G. 160, 1) belongs to ἀπέχρησε: see note on II. § 15, above.

Page **141**. — οὗτος is not antecedent to ὅστις, but repeats the idea of the relative clause for emphasis.

14. ἀμπωτὶς τε καὶ ῥήχϊη, *ebb and flow* of the tide, which is seldom sufficient to be noticed in the Mediterranean. — ἰόντι (G. 184, 5). — βοηθέοντα, *as an aid*: the future is more common in this sense (G. 277, 3). — καιομένῳ, *when he burnt himself* on Mount Oeta. — ἀποφανῆναι (G. 203).

15. κατ' ἣ, *at which = where*, referring to ταύτῃ (where ἧ would have been more regular). — δισχιλία . . . πλέθρα, 22,000 *plethra*, i. e. in surface: the πλέθρον is a long measure of 100 (Greek) feet in length, or a square measure of 10,000 square feet; the Trachinian plain, therefore, must have contained nearly 8 square miles.

16. Ἄσωποῦ, not to be confounded with the Boeotian Asopus (see above, I. § 13).

Page **142**. — Ἀμφικτύοσι, i. e. for the Amphictyonic Council, which met twice in each year, once at Thermopylae and once at Delphi. The word Ἀμφικτύονες (the same as ἀμφικτίονες) originally meant *neighbors*, and shows the origin of this and other similar assemblies. The hero Amphictyon, whose temple is here mentioned, was probably invented to connect the foundation of this famous council with the Greek mythology.

17. Θερμο-πύλαι, from the *hot* springs. — φερόντων (like ἐχόντων just before it), *extending*: see note on § 12, above. — τὸ ἐπὶ . . . ἡπείρου (G. 160), *as regards what was on this continent* (Greece): see above, § 3.

18. τοσούτοι μὲν, i. e. the 2120 just mentioned.

19. ἦκοιεν represents ἦκομεν of the direct discourse (G. 200, N. 3). — οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι: the indirect discourse changes here from the optative to the infinitive (G. 246). — τῷ (= ᾧ) . . . συνεμύχθη: this aorist, being in a dependent clause, could not be changed to the optative (G. 247, N. 2). — ὀφείλειν . . . πεσεῖν ἂν, *ought to fall*: ἂν may belong to ὀφείλειν (= ὀφείλοι ἂν), *it would be his due to fall*; or it may belong to πεσεῖν (πέσοι ἂν), *it is his due that he should fall* (if he should test his fortune). In the former case it is very irregular in its position; in the latter, in its construction. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 2, N.; § 41, N. 4.)

Page **143**. — 20. Hdt. honors Leonidas, the king of Sparta who belonged to the elder branch of the royal family, by giving his genealogy through the line of Spartan kings up to Aristodemus, the great-great-grandson of Hercules, one of the semi-fabulous Heraclidae who led the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. The twin sons of Aristodemus — Eurysthenes and Procles — founded the two lines of Spartan kings. (See Smith's larger *History of Greece*, Chap. IV.)

21. ἔρσενος γόνου (G. 180, 1, N. 2): Leonidas became king in 491 B. C. — εἶχε, i. e. in marriage. — τοὺς κατεστεῶτας, *the established number of 300*, this being the regular body-guard of a Spartan king; Leonidas, however, knowing the desperate nature of the present undertaking, instead of taking youths, as usual, now took only those who had sons living, that no family might become extinct.

22. κατηγορήτο, impersonal (G. 134, N. 2), *it had been charged against them*, μηδίζεν being the subject. — εἵτε συμπέμψουσι: the future optative might be used (G. 243). — ἄλλοφρονέοντες, *reluctantly, or leaning to the other side*.

23. ἵνα . . . στρατεύωνται (G. 216, 2); subj. on the principle of indirect discourse. — μηδέ, *and not*, sc. ἵνα: *and that these too might not join the Persians in case they should learn, &c.* (G. 248). — ὑπερβαλλομένους, *backward, putting off*. — Κάονεια, the same festival which kept the Spartans from Marathon: see note on I. § 8. — ὀρτάσαντες, *after keeping the festival*.

Page **144**. — ἐνένωντο (v. νοέω). — ὥς δὲ καὶ . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, pleonastic. — συμπεσοῦσα (like an adjective with ἦν), *coincident*: the Olympic festival occurred every fourth year on the first full moon after the summer solstice, about a month before the Spartan Carneia.

24. ἔλθοῦσι (G. 138, N. 8). — περισπερχέοντων, *being much incensed*: the word is very doubtful, and most probably a mistake for περισπερχθέντων (see Liddell and Scott). — ἀλέξασθαι depends on ὀλίγων, *too few*.

25. ὁκόσοι . . . ποιεῖεν (G. 243): the direct questions would be πόσοι εἰσὶν; and τί ποιοῦσιν; — τοὺς ἡγεμόνας (G. 160, 1), *by anticipation*, instead of being subject of εἶψαν. — Ἡρακλείδης: see above, § 20. — πᾶν μὲν οὐ, *not the whole*, in antithesis to ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω. — ἀλογίης . . . πολλῆς, i. e. *very little notice was taken of him*. — ὁπώπее (v. ὁράω).

Page **145**. — 26. ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, *but . . . since*. — Δημάρητον: Demaratus was king of Sparta in the younger or Proclid line, but was declared illegitimate and succeeded on the throne (491 B. C.) by the next heir, Leotychides; soon after which he left his country to join the Persians. He proved the most sagacious counsellor of Xerxes, but was almost always overruled by the jealousy of the Persian court-officers. — γέλωτά με ἔθεν, *you made fun of me*. — ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι, *it is my utmost endeavor*.

27. νόμος, (here) *custom*. — οὕτω ἔχων, *of this nature*. — τοσοῦτοι, *so few*. — χρᾶσθαι (G. 269).

28. παρεξήκε (v. παρεξίημι), *let pass*. — φερόμενοι, *impetuously*. — ἐπεσθῆσαν, *came up to succeed them* (ἐπι-). — καίπερ (G. 277, N. 1 b).

Page **146**. — πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι δ' ἄνδρες, *many people, but few men*.

29. τρηχέως περιείποντο, *were roughly handled*: περιείπειν = *to follow round, to tend, to treat, &c.* — ἐκδεξάμενοι, *succeeding*: see note on § 2, above. — ἀθανάτους, *Immortals*: this body of 10,000 picked Persians were so called because the vacancies in their ranks were immediately filled, so that the number always remained the same (Hdt. VII. 83). — κατεργασόμενοι, sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο, *gained no more*: see below, § 32, μέγα τι οἴσεσθαι.

30. ἄλλα τε . . . καί, *showing, both in other ways, and especially* [in this]. — ἐξεπιστάμενοι, used (like an infinitive) with ἀποδεικνύμενοι, *showing that they thoroughly (ἐξ-) understood how to fight, &c.* (G. 280). — ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν (G. 233). — φεύγεσκον (G. 119, 10). — δῆθεν implies that the flight was a pretence. — ἄν belongs to ὑπέστρεφον in the iterative construction (G. 206), not in apodosis. — καταλαμβανόμενοι, *when they were overtaken* (in their pretended flight). — εἶναι (G. 265). — ἐδυνάτο (G. 126, 5; 119, 3), imperfect for ἐδύναντο.

31. ἀναδραμεῖν, *leapt*. “With the grave Orientals, nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.” Blakesley. — κατατετρωματῆσθαι, *indirect discourse with*



ἔσεσθαι after ἐλπίσαντος. — τὴν ἀτραπὸν, the secret *path* mentioned above in § 1. — ἐνώρων (v. ἐνοράω).

Page 147. — 32. ὅ τι . . . πρήγματι (G. 244 ; 188, 1, N. 2). — διέφθειρε, brought destruction upon. — Πυλαγόρων, a portion of the delegates to the Amphictyonic council were so called. The meeting of the council was called Πυλαία from Πύλαι (see note on § 16, above), even when it met at Delphi.

33. Πυλαγόροι: there is also a form Πυλαγόραι. — πάντως κού . . . πυθόμενοι, having certainly gained the most accurate knowledge. Many names were current of persons said to have betrayed the pass to Xerxes ; probably it may have been made known by more than one, in a region where many favored the invasion, and many more were in terror of the invader. — τοῦτο δέ, and secondly. — εἰ . . . ὠμίληκώς εἴη, if he should have had much to do with the region, i. e. as a consequence of having had much to do with it (G. 202, 2) : for the force of the rare perfect optative, see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 18, 1, with Note.

34. ἦρεσε (v. ἀρέσκω). — τῶν ἐστρατήγεε (see note on § 29). — ὥρμεατο (G. 119, 3), for ὥρμητο. — περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, about lamplight.

Page 148. — τότε (see note on § 3, above). — ἐν σκεπη τοῦ πολέμου, sheltered from the war (G. 167, 3). — ἐκ . . . χρηστή, at so remote a period (see G. 191, N. 6) had it (the path) been shown by the Malians (G. 188, 3) to be a pernicious thing : οὐδὲν χρηστή (commonly οὐδὲν χρήσιμος), of no good, is a euphemism for bad : these words are sometimes understood to refer to the pass of Thermopylae itself (ἐσβολήν), and to mean that the Malians had so long ago shown the pass to be useless.

35. Μελάμπυγον : this was an epithet of Hercules, implying manliness and strength. — Κερκώπων : these Cercopes were droll, mischievous dwarfs, who appear often in the stories of Hercules, sometimes amusing and sometimes tormenting the hero. In the local legend of Thermopylae, they appear as footpads lurking about the pass (hence their *seats*, ἔδρας, at the narrowest place), where they steal the arms of Hercules while he is sleeping. Hercules seizes two of them and ties them to a pole, which he throws over his shoulders and walks away with them. They have been warned by their mother to beware of the Μελάμπυγος ; and on seeing this characteristic of Hercules as they are swinging behind him, they make such sport of him that finally he too begins to laugh at their jokes and releases them. A bas-relief taken from a temple at Selinus in Sicily represents Hercules carrying the two Cercopes on his shoulders. The stone called Μελάμπυγος probably had some imaginary resemblance to the sleeping Hercules.

36. τὰ Οἰταίων : the mountain (usually called Callidromus) over which the path led forms a part of the Thessalian range of Oeta : the words ἐν δεξιῇ refer to the march southward and eastward after crossing the Asopus. — ῥυόμενοι, keeping guard (as protectors). — φρουρέοντες, guarding (as sentinels). — ἡ κάτω ἐσβολή (G. 141, N. 3), i. e. Thermopylae itself. — ὑποδεξάμενοι, having pledged themselves (or given a promise) to Leonidas.

37. ἀναβεβηκότας (G. 280). — ὧδε, *as follows*, belongs to ἔμαθον. — ἐνέδυνον . . . ἐνδυομένους (G. 199, N. 1) : as they were putting on *their own* armor, the middle is more exact. — οἱ βάρβαροι is subject of ἐγένοντο. — φανήσεσθαι (G. 203, N. 2).

38. μὴ . . . ἔωσι, *lest they might prove to be* (G. 218 ; 216, 2).

Page 149. — φεύγοντες (G. 279, 4, N.). — ἀρχήν, *originally*, i. e. on purpose to attack them. — παρεσκευάδατο (G. 108, 4, I.). — οἱ δέ refers to Πέρσαι, the subject of the preceding clause : this is not an Attic usage (G. 143, 1).

39. ἡοῖ (G. 55, N. 1). — ἐπί, *besides* (G. 191, N. 2). — οὔτοι, the diviner and the deserters. — οὐκ ἔων, *forbade*.

40. οὐκ ἔχειν (G. 203, N. 1), depends on λέγεται, by a change of construction (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ἀρχήν : see § 38, above ; ἀρχήν may often be translated *at all*, like Latin *omnino*. — τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι, *I am most strongly inclined to the opinion* : so πολὺς εἰμι (see Liddell and Scott). — κελεύσαι (G. 203) depends on the phrase τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι. — αὐτῷ, intensive. — ἔχειν (G. 203, N. 1). — ἐλείπετο, *awaited*. — οὐκ ἐξηλείφето, *remained undiminished*.

41. γενέσθαι . . . ἀπολέσθαι : we should expect these to be in the future, on the principle of indirect discourse (G. 203) ; but verbs signifying to *give an oracle* are exceptional, probably because they imply a *command*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 23, 1, N. 2). — “The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering.” Blakesley. It was related that Leonidas, before he left Sparta, gave instructions to his wife Gorgo for her conduct in widowhood ; and that “funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence.”

Page 150. — (2.) Περσέειδῃσι, *descendants of Perseus* : Herod. (VII. 61) says that the Persians received their name from Perses, son of the Greek hero Perseus ; a mere device to unite the two similar names. — (3.) τὸ μὲν οὐκ . . . δέ, *not this, but, &c.* — (4.) οὗρος (= ὄρος, *boundary*), *Sparta's bounds*. — (5.) τόν (G. 140), *him*, i. e. the invading Persian. — (7.) ἕτερον, *one or the other*. — δια-δάσῃται (v. δατέομαι or δαίομαι). — ἀποπέμψαι and οἴχεσθαι depend on τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι in § 40, being partly a repetition of κελεύσαι, &c. in that passage. All from μένοντι δέ (§ 40) through the oracle is a sort of parenthesis.

42. τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, *by descent*. — οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, *remained not behind*, i. e. *did not separate himself* from the army. Krüger.

43. Θηβαῖοι ἀέκοντες : as unwilling hostages, they could have been of little service ; it is probable that this is the representation made afterwards by the Thebans, to reconcile themselves with the Persian conqueror. (See § 55.) Their politics were at this time “essentially double-faced and equivocal.” Grote. A later orator, confounding Thespians and Plataeans, says of the latter, that one half the adult citizens perished in the pass,

and the remainder fought in the Athenian fleet at Artemisium and Salamis. — οὐκ ἔφασαν, *said that they would not, &c.* — ἀπολιπόντες (G. 138, N. 8).

44. ἐς ἀγορῆς . . . πληθώρην, *until about full-market time*, i. e. the last part of the forenoon, before μεσημβρία.

Page 151. — χώρος, here = *space* to be passed over. — τὸ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐφυλάσσετο refers to the fight of the two preceding days.

45. πολλοί refers to the Persians: but the subject changes suddenly at ἄτε γάρ. — τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, *the dying*. — ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον, *their utmost strength*; like ὡς μέγιστον expanded into ὡς (or ὅσον) ἐδύναντο μέγιστον. — παραχρέμενοι (sc. τοῖς σώμασιν), *making their lives of no value*. — ἀτέοντες, *reckless*. — κατηγότα (v. κατ-άγνυμι). — οἱ δέ, referring to τοῖς πλέοσι, not Attic (see note on § 38, above).

46. γενόμενος, *having proved himself (not having been)*. — τὰ οὐνόματα: the names of the 300 could still be read on a column in Sparta in the time of Pausanias, 600 years afterwards. — οἶκον, *his estate*. — ὡς ἐούσης gives the reason of Artanes himself.

Page 152. — τοῦτον ὑπέξερυσαν, *rescued his body*. The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years later, according to Pausanias; when the column just mentioned was erected. — τοῦτο συνεστήκει, *this kind of battle continued*.

48. πλὴν Θηβαίων: see below, § 55. — λέων, with reference to the name Δεωνίδης. — τοῖσι . . . περιεοῦσαι, *such of them as happened still to have them (μάχαιραι) left*. — καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, as we say “tooth and nail,” but of course with no comic idea. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, *in front*. — περισταδόν (adv. from stem of περιστήμι), *so as to surround them*.

49. πρὶν ἢ (G. 274, N.). — τοσοῦτο . . . εἶναι depends on ἔφη implied in what precedes. — τὸν δέ, *but he*, irregularly inserted, as if the sentence had not been introduced by the relative τόν, to which πυθόμενον belongs. — ὡς ἀγγέλλοι depends on the *past tense* εἰπεῖν (G. 203; 201, N. 2). — εἰ . . . ἔσοιτο represents εἰ ἔσται in the direct form (G. 221, N.), *if it was to be (not if it should be)*.

51. αὐτοῦ ταυτῇ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, *there* (i. e. at Thermopylae), on the spot where they fell. — σφί refers to the Spartans and Thespians. — πρότερον ἢ . . . οἴχεσθαι, like πρὶν ἢ in § 49: the subject of οἴχεσθαι is τοὺς συμμάχους understood, which is also implied (in the genitive) after τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασι. — ἐπιγέγραπται: this verb applies especially to inscriptions, properly called ἐπιγράμματα (see below, after the inscriptions).

Page 153. — Πελοποννάσου: the Doric form, with  $\bar{a}$  for  $\eta$  (G. 30, 1). In the preceding verse, τᾷδε and τριακοσίοις are sometimes substituted (on conjecture) for the Ionic forms of the MSS., which can hardly be correct. — χιλιάδες τέτορες: the number who *fought* (ἐμάχοντο), although Herodotus elsewhere speaks as if 4,000 *fell* (VIII. 25). The inscription refers only to those from Peloponnesus, who (according to § 18) amounted to 3,100. But



later writers speak of 700 or 1,000 Lacedaemonians *besides* the 300 Spartans; and these must be included, although Herodotus makes no mention of them. The whole question of the numbers at Thermopylae is much disputed. The stern simplicity of the second inscription has made it especially famous. — ἀγγέλλειν is used for the imperative (G. 269). — In the third inscription, Μεγιστίᾱ is Doric genitive (G. 39); and οὐκ ἔτλη = *scorned* (Rawlinson). — ἔξω ἤ, *except*. — Σιμωνίδης: Simonides, the great lyric poet of Ceos, was often considered the author of all three epigrams. His still more famous ode on the heroes of Thermopylae (or perhaps only a fragment) is preserved by Diodorus:—

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,  
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος.  
 Ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρὺς  
 οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμανρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
 Ὅ δὲ σακὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν  
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας  
 ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς  
 κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

“Of those who at Thermopylae were slain,  
 Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;  
 Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain,  
 To honor them; and praise, but mourn them not.  
 Such sepulchre nor drear decay  
 Nor all-destroying time shall waste; this right have they.  
 Within their grave the home-bred glory  
 Of Greece was laid; this witness gives  
 Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story  
 A wreath of famous virtue ever lives.”

*Translated by STERLING.*

52. παρέόν = παρόν (G. 278, 2). — μεμετιμένοι (see μεθήμι in Cat. of Verbs). — οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι depends on λέγεται in the first line. — τὸν εἴλωτα, *his Helot* servant: each Spartan soldier was entitled to be accompanied by seven Helots, and probably many of these fell in the first battles at Thermopylae, unmentioned by the historian (see, however, VIII. 25). — λειποψυχόντα, (here) *faint-hearted*.

53. εἰ . . . ἦν, *if it had been* the case. — κομίδην, *return*: see κομίζεσθαι.

Page 154. — προσθέσθαι ἄν (= προσέθετο ἄν) depends on λέγεται in § 52. — προφασιος (G. 171, 1).

54. *ἡτίμωτο*, *he was disgraced*, as the perfect *ἡτίμωται* means *he is disgraced*. — *ἐν Πλαταιῇσι*, i. e. at Plataea, in the following year (479 B. C.). — *ἀνέλαβε*, *he made up for*. — *ἐπενειχθεῖσαν* (v. *ἐπιφέρω*).

55. *ὥς . . . μηδίζουσι . . . ἀπικοίατο* (G. 243).

Page 155. — 56. *πλεῦνας* = *πλέονας*. — *σχόντα . . . Πλαταιέων*: this attack of the Thebans on Plataea was the first hostile act committed in the Peloponnesian War (431 B. C.).

57. *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, *truthfulness*. — *τὰς διεξόδους*, “*the ins and outs*.” — *οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος*, *since you were once their king*. (See note on § 26, above.) The counsel of Demaratus (here omitted) was that Xerxes should occupy with part of his fleet the island of Cythera, off the south coast of Laconia, which would draw off the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus, and put all Greece in his power. This wise counsel was overruled by the Persian Achaemenes. It was followed afterwards by the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian War.

58. *ἀποταμόντας*, sc. *τινάς*. — *δῆλα . . . γέγονε* (G. 135, 2). — *τῶν* (= *ῶν*) . . . *ἀνθρώπων* (G. 154, Note).

#### IV.

Page 156. — 1. *ναυτικὸν στρατόν*: the return of the Greek fleet from the Euripus to its position at Artemisium has been mentioned in III. § 11. After describing the battle of Thermopylae in the Seventh Book, Herodotus begins the Eighth Book with the sea-fight at Artemisium, which took place on the same three days with the battles at Thermopylae (see below, § 15). — *Πλαταιέες*: see I. §§ 11–13. — *πεντηκοντέρους*: these were vessels of the older style with fifty oars, all in one row; while the triremes, the more modern ships of war with three banks of oars, were specially called *νῆες*, sometimes *νῆες μακραί*.

2. *ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἡγεμονεύη*, *be commander-in-chief*.

3. *ἐς Σικελίην*: see II. § 39. — *εἰ στασιάσουσι, ὥς ἀπολέεται* (G. 223, N. 1; 247). — *τοσούτῳ . . . ὅσῳ* (G. 188, 2).

Page 157. — *μέχρι . . . ἐδέοντο*, *so long as they* (the Athenians) *were in extreme need of them* (the Peloponnesian allies): *μέχρι ὅσου* here = *ὅσον χρόνον*. The desertion of these allies, all of whom acknowledged the headship of Sparta, would have withdrawn 113 ships. — *περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου*, i. e. to liberate the Greeks in Asia Minor and the islands: this refers to the beginning of the Confederacy of Delos (about 477 B. C.). See notes, p. 31.

4. *Ἀφετάς*: see III. § 12, above. — *παρὰ δόξαν . . . ἢ ὥς κατεδόκειον*, pleonastic for *otherwise than as they expected*, *παρὰ δόξαν* being more emphatic than the simple *ἐτέρως*. — *δρησμόν*, *a retreat*, which would have betrayed the force at Thermopylae to destruction, besides leaving Euboea

unprotected against the Persian fleet. — προσ-μείναι . . . χρόνον, *to wait a little longer*. — Θεμιστοκλέα : Herodotus is writing after Themistocles had died in exile, when even his disinterested acts were liable to be suspected of corruption. But whatever we may think of his personal motives, we may easily believe that he used money furnished by the richer Euboeans in the way described in § 5. — ἐπ' ᾧ . . . ποιήσονται (G. 236, N. 2 and 3).

5. ἐπισχεῖν (G. 265). — ἡσπαιρε, *struggled*, i. e. *resisted*. — ἀπολιπόντι represents εἰ ἀπολίποις, as protasis to πέμψειε ἄν (G. 226, 1). — ἡπιστέατο, imperfect, *supposed* (G. 126, 5 ; 119, 3) : cf. ἐδυνέατο above, III. § 30.

Page 158. — 6. εἴ πως ἔλοιεν (G. 226, 4, N. 1), *in case they should capture them*, i. e. *to capture them if they could*. — καταλάβοι, *should close in about them* (and save them), — an unusual meaning. — καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν . . . περιγενέσθαι, *and they were likely (as the Persians thought, δῆθεν) to make their escape* (i. e. if their flight was not hindered) ; whereas (δέ), according to their (the Persians') talk, *not even a torch-bearer was to come off alive*. The torch-bearer in an army or fleet kept alive the sacred fire which was brought from home, and his person was held sacred. His fall, therefore, implied the utter annihilation of the whole army. It was a common saying that "not even a torch-bearer escaped" (οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλείφθη), implying utter destruction.

7. πρὸς ταῦτα ὦν : this corresponds to ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀντίης in § 6, taking the place of a clause with δέ. — ὡς ἄν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — οἱ μὲν, i. e. those who sailed round Euboea ; σφεῖς δέ, *and they*, i. e. the main force : both in apposition with the subject of περιλάβοιεν. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, *in front*, like ἐκ τῆς ἀντίης in § 6. — τὰς ταχθείσας, i. e. the two hundred.

8. αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο, *got for himself*. — ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε, *but [had not done so], for he had never had [such] an opportunity as then*. — ἔτι, *at length*.

Page 159. — ἐς ὀγδώκοντα : a swim of about nine miles ! This is matched by another later story, that, during the storm at Sepias, the same man with the help of his daughter (also a diver) destroyed many Persian ships by diving down and loosening their anchors.

9. ἀποδεδέχθω, v. ἀποδεκνυμι (G. 202, 2, N. 1). — ὡς γένοιτο, *that it had taken place* (G. 243).

10. ἐπενείκαντες, *ascribing or imputing*. — καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, *resolved on this* ; καταφρονεῖν has this rare sense only in Ionic Greek. — ἐς μέσον implies that they hoped to get the Greeks *into the circle* which they were about to make. — ἐπιστάμενοι, *feeling sure*. — ἀπονοστήσει, *would return safe*. — ἡδομένοισι ἦν (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — ὅκως . . . λάμψεται depends on the idea of *striving* in ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο (G. 217).

Page 160. — 11. ὡς ἐσήμηνε, *when the signal was given* (G. 134, N. 1 d). — ἐς τὸ μέσον : the sterns were brought together as the prows were turned toward the enemy on every side. — ἔργον εἶχοντο, *held to the work*. — κατὰ



στόμα, *beak to beak*. — Σαλαμινίων : the Salamis in Cyprus is meant ; but ἐν Σαλαμῖνι below refers to the island near Athens.

12. μέσον θέρος, *midsummer* : τῆς ὥρης is partitive genitive. The battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium took place in July, 480 B. C. — κατιστέατο, imperfect, = καθίσταντο. — ἐλπίζοντες, *apprehending*. — ἐς οἷα = ὅτι ἐς τοιαῦτα, causal relative (G. 238). — ῥεύματα ἰσχυρά, *swollen torrents*.

Page 161. — 13. ὅκως ἄν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — τὰ Κοῖλα, *the Hollows* of Euboea are probably on the southwest side, opposite Attica.

14. ἐπεβώθειον, *came as reinforcement* : these 53 ships, added to those mentioned in § 1, raised the Athenian fleet to the full number of 200. — τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, *the same time of day* (see § 9, above).

15. σφι λυμαίνεσθαι, *should harass them* (G. 184, 2). — τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω, *what Xerxes might do*. — οἱ μὲν refers to the Greeks both at Thermopylae and at Artemisium ; οἱ δέ to the Persians at both places : πόρου refers to the passage by sea and that by land. — ὅκως κρατήσουσι (G. 217, N. 2).

Page 162. — 16. παραπλήσιοι, *equally matched*, not in numbers, but as is explained in the next sentence. — αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε : a Corinthian speaker in Thucyd. I. 69 speaks of the armament of Xerxes as αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ σφαλέντα. — τράπεσθαι (Ionic present passive), in apposition with χρήμα.

17. παλήσειε, *should suffer* : cf. ἦν τι καταλαμβάνη (G. 248). — ση-μαίνειν depends on προσετέτακτο and also on ἐτοῖμον. — ἐς ἀναβολάς, *with delay*. The fleet had suffered so severely in the engagements, — half of the Athenian ships being disabled, — that it had already determined to withdraw ; and, by advice of Themistocles, the Greeks were slaughtering the cattle of the Euboeans for their own supplies.

18. περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, i. e. on the northern shore of Euboea, where the Persians would land for drinking-water. — ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας : Attica was called the parent city of the Ionians in Asia Minor. — μάλιστα μὲν, *best of all*. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε (G. 184, 3, N. 6), i. e. *be neutral*.

Page 163. — καὶ αὐτοί, opposed to τῶν Καρῶν. — ἡ ἔχθρη . . . γέγονε : i. e. in the assistance given by Athens in the Ionic revolt. — βασιλέα, object of λαθόντα. — ἐπείτε ἀνενειχθῇ : Herodotus occasionally omits ἄν in this construction, contrary to the usage in Attic prose (G. 234 ; 223, N. 2). — διαβληθῇ (sc. τὰ γράμματα), *should be misrepresented* (G. 248, N.).

In the interval which follows, Xerxes is said to have brought the soldiers of his fleet to Thermopylae, that they might view the Grecian dead, — concealing the trenches where 20,000 of his own dead lay buried, — “truly a laughable device,” says Herodotus, “which deceived nobody ; on one side a thousand men lying about the field [as if these were all the Persians had lost], and on the other four thousand crowded together into one spot.” He is also related to have asked of some Arcadian deserters what the Greeks were doing. “Holding the Olympic games,” was the reply, and “seeing

wrestling and chariot-races." "And for what prize?" he asked. "An olive-wreath to the winner." Upon which a Persian officer exclaimed, "What men are these against whom we are brought out to fight?—men who contend with one another for honor, and not for gain!" At this time, too, the Thessalians (who had an old border-fend with the Phocians) sent a messenger into Phocis, offering, for a ransom of fifty talents, to save the district from being ravaged by the Persians: to which the Phocians replied, that they were free as the Thessalians to make friends with the Medes, if they chose; but they would never of their own will be traitors to the liberties of Greece. This heroic answer greatly endeared them in later times to the Athenians; but the opinion of Herodotus was, that their ancient hate would have led them to choose the side opposite to the Thessalians, whichever that had been.

19. **ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα**: it is strange that Herodotus represents the whole army of Xerxes as marching into Boeotia by the road which leads through Doris and Central Phocis by the valley of the Cephissus, — a road which, by crossing a mountain ridge, avoided the pass of Thermopylae altogether. Stein remarks, that probably a part of the army at least passed through Thermopylae and took the upper road, which appears from the names of towns on that route which were burned by the Persians. This road also would be the only one practicable for the cavalry. — **ποδεών**, *footlet or spur* (see Lexicon). — **ἡ περ** refers to Doris. — **μητρόπολις**, i. e. the starting-place of the Dorian emigration: the earlier home of the race was in Thessaly. — **οὐκ ἐδόκει**, i. e. the Thessalians advised against it.

20. **ἡ κορυφή**, the name Tithorea was given to one of the summits in the mass of mountains called Parnassus: the place here mentioned was probably a natural fortress described by Plutarch (Sull. 15), below the highest peak of Tithorea; the present Velitza. — **κατὰ Νέωνα**, *at (or above) Neon*. — **κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς**, *lying by itself*, i. e. a solitary peak. — **ἀνηνέικαντο**, *understand their possessions*.

21. **Παραποταμίους**, "*Riverside*," a town and people of the same name on the Cephissus.

Page 164. — **τὰς δὲ πόλεις . . . ἔσωζον**, *were protecting their cities*, i. e. when the Persians entered Boeotia.

23. **εἵτε . . . κατορύξωσι**, (G. 244): the direct question being **κατορύξωμι ν**; *shall we bury them?* (G. 256). — **αὐτός** before **εἶναι** is adjective (G. 138, N. 8). — **πέρη** (G. 191, N. 4). — **πέρην**, i. e. across the Gulf of Corinth. — **Ἰκωρύκιον ἄντρον**, the Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, was high above Delphi, in the side of one of the heights of Parnassus. It is described as about 300 feet deep, 40 feet high, and abounding in stalactites.

Page 165. — 24. **ἀπώρεον**, *were in sight of*. — **Προνηΐης**, a title of the Delphian Athena (**Ἀττιέ Προναΐα**), who was so called because her temple stood on the way leading to the great temple of Apollo, being thus *before*

*the temple* (πρὸ ναοῦ). — διὰ πάντων, *above all*: διὰ has occasionally (in Herodotus as in the poets, not in Attic writers) a meaning of *pre-eminence*, of *going through* or *beyond*.

25. δύο κορυφαί (G. 138, N. 6), great masses of rock detached from the mountain and thrown down, probably, by the defenders: many such fragments are now to be seen in the pass. — ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν (G. 182, 2). — μέζονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, *of more than human stature*: ἔχοντας cannot be correct here unless there is some error in the preceding words.

26. τοὺς and δύο belong to ἥρωας. — τῆς Κασταλλίης, the famous fountain of Castalia, which flows from the cleft between the two lofty peaks, the Φαιδριάδες, which overhang Delphi. One of these peaks was called Hyampeia. These two peaks above Delphi have caused the idea that the chief peak of Parnassus, Lycoreia, has a double crest.

Page 166. — 27. τὸ ποιητέον = ὁ ποιητέον, as indirect question. — ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι (v. καθ-ήκω) πρήγμασι, *on the circumstances that had arisen* (or *come in*), like the Attic τὰ καθεστῶτα. — τῶν . . οὐδέν, *nothing of the kind*. — οἱ δέ, the Athenians: see note on III. § 38, above. — ἀπιέναι (v. ἀφίημι) depends irregularly on ἐπυνθάνοντο, which takes the participle τειχέοντας regularly (G. 280).

28. Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν, for Ἀθηναίων τινὰ τῇ (= ᾧ) δύναται σώζειν. — ἐς Τροιζήνα: Troezen, on the Argolic coast, was a seafaring place, sacred to Poseidon, and inhabited by an Ionic people kindred to the Athenians. It deserves to be remembered to the honor of the Troezenians, that they received the Athenian exiles "with eager good-will," and "passed a vote that they should be maintained at the public charge by a daily payment of two obols to every one, and leave be given to the children to gather fruit where they pleased, and schoolmasters paid to instruct them." (Plutarch, Them. 10.) — τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, that with reference to the "wooden walls." — ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, *in the temple* of Athena Polias, which formed part of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens. Here was preserved the olive-wood statue of the Goddess, which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and which was decorated with the costly *peplus* at the great Panathenaic festival. — ὡς ἔόντι, i. e. to the serpent as *actually existing*, implying some doubt of his reality on the historian's part. — ἐπιμήνια, *monthly food-offerings*. — ὡς . . ἀπολελοιπούσης: it was a common ancient belief, that a city could not be taken or destroyed unless first forsaken by its divinity. Thus the Romans had a formula for summoning forth the Gods of the cities they were about to attack; while the true name of Rome and that of its tutelar divinity were said to be kept as a mystery, lest they should become known to an enemy who might thus disarm the city of its protector. (See Macrobius, Sat. III. 9.)

Page 167. — 30. προθέντος (for the more common λόγον προθέντος), *having given notice*, the usual formula for opening a debate. — τῶν (= ὧν) χωρέων, by attraction for ὅκου χωρέων τῶν ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ, *in which of the places they were themselves masters of*. — ἐπιλέγοντες, as if ἔλεγον or ἐγνώσαν



had preceded. — ἵνα, *where*. — πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, supply *έόντες* from the clause with *μὲν*.

31. ἤκειν, *had (already) come* (G. 200, N. 3); but πυρπολέεσθαι (regular present), *was burning*: so with ἦκε and ἐδηίου below.

Page 168. — 32. τρισὶ μῆσί: it was now September, B. C. 480, on the 20th of which the battle of Salamis was fought. — ἀρχοντας, *being Archon*, i. e. Eponymus for the year: see note on Xen. Hell. 2, III. 1. — τὸ ἄστυ, *the city proper*, all within the circuit of the walls. — ταμίας, *stewards*, having charge of the temple-treasures.

33. Ἀρήϊον πάγον, the Areopagus, or Mars' Hill. — ὅκως . . . ἄψιεναν (G. 233). — ἐνεδέκοντο, *did they entertain them*, i. e. the proposals of the exiled family of Pisistratus.

34. ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων: ἀπορα is used like ἀπορίαι. — ἐμπροσθε: the north side of the Acropolis is still sometimes called *the front*; the gateway and the only entrance are on the west side. — ἤλπισε has here so much force of *apprehension* that it takes μή and the optative like ἐφοβήθη (G. 218): for ἤλπισε ἄν, see G. 226, 2. — ἱρὸν . . . Ἀγλαύρου: the Aglaurium, a sanctuary which commemorated the place where Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself from the Acropolis.

Page 169. — πρὸς τὰς πύλας, the gates of the temple, in the precincts of which they had ascended.

35. Ἀρταβάνῳ: an uncle of Xerxes, who had been left in chief authority at the Persian capital, although he had attempted to dissuade Xerxes from his expedition against Greece.

36. γηγενέος, *born of the Earth*: see II. II. 548, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα. The temple of Erechtheus was one of the three temples united in the building commonly called the Erechtheum; a second was the temple of Athena Polias (see note on § 28, above); the third was the Pandroseum, which contained the sacred olive-tree planted by Athena, and the salt spring (θάλασσα) made by the stroke of Poseidon's trident. These were *proofs* (μαρτύρια) offered by the rival deities in their famous contest for the possession of Athens, which was represented by Phidias in the group of statues on the western pediment of the Parthenon. — ὅσον τε, *about*, like ὥς with words denoting number or size: the τέ is a poetic addition (not Attic) allowed by Herodotus (G. 151, N. 4).

37. κυρωθῆναι depends on ἔμενον, which sometimes takes the infinitive in the sense of *waiting for* something to be done. — πρῆγμα, *subject of discussion* (see § 30, above).

Page 170. — καὶ οἷ (G. 151, N. 3).

38. περὶ οὐδεμιῆς . . . ναυμαχίῃς, i. e. *you will no longer have any country to fight for* (for οὐ . . . οὐδεμιῆς, see G. 283, 9). — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7). — ἀναγνώσκειν, *to prevail upon*: this meaning of ἀναγινώσκω is not found in Attic.

39. **συνμίξαι**, *communicare*. — **ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος**, *making* (or *representing*) *them as his own*.

40. **τῶν ἐννεκεν** (relative), = **τούτων ὧν**, &c.: **τούτων** depending on **λόγον**. — **πολλός**, *frequent* or *urgent*; i. e. *he had much to say*. — **ἀπολύμενος**, *in his defence*, *sese purgans*. — **οἱ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι**, *they who do not enter the lists*.

Page 171. — 41. **ἀναζεύξης**, *break up, move off*; lit. *yoke up*, used properly of moving by land. — **ἀναπεπταμένῳ**, *open* (as a bird with its wings spread), in contrast with the narrow waters at Salamis. — **ἐς τό** (relative), supply **ἀνάγειν** or some similar verb. — **βαρυντέρας** (if correct) must mean *heavier* in movement, not *larger*. — **σφέας**, the Persians. — **κινδυνεύσεις** . . . Ἑλλάδι: compare **κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ**, in III. 27.

42. **τοσάδε**, *the following* (G. 148, N. 1). — **πρὸς ἡμέων**, *for our advantage*. — **ἐς τήν** (G. 191, N. 6). — **ἐν αὐτοῖσι** (as above), i. e. *in what I propose*. — **μένων** = **ἦν μένης** (G. 226, 1).

43. **περιοῦσι**: cf. **περιγίνεται** in § 42. — **λόγιον** refers to the oracle, II. § 35. — **οἰκότα** is object of **βουλευομένοισι**, and is also understood as subject of **ἐθέλει**, which here is used like **φιλεῖ** = *solet*. — **βουλευομένοισι** before **οὐκ ἐθέλει** is *dat. commodi*, i. e. *for their sake*.

Page 172. — **προσχωρεῖν** . . . **γνώμας**, *conform (go over) to human ideas*.

44. **τῷ μὴ ἔστι** (G. 238): **μὴ** shows that there is a conditional as well as a causal force in the relative clause. — **ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί**, *to put a question to vote for* (i. e. *on the motion of*) *a man without a country*. — **οὕτω συμβάλλ' εἶσθαι**, *then* (i. e. *after declaring his country*) *to join in proposing opinions*. — **ἑωυτοῖσι**, *to himself and his fellow-citizens*. — **ἔστ' ἂν**, *so long as*: the subjunctive in the direct discourse depends on **ἐστί** (here changed to **εἶη**), which has a future (as well as present) sense; the idea being, *we can certainly be said to have a country, so long as we have 200 ships to show*.

45. **ἐπεστραμμένα** (v. **ἐπιστρέφω**), *pressing, emphatic*. — **εἰ μεnéεις καλῆσαι**: the apodosis is suppressed, *it will be well*. — **τὸ πᾶν . . . φέρουσι**, i. e. *with them rests the whole fortune of war*. — **οἰκέτας**, (here) *our households*. — **Σίριν**, a town near Sybaris in Southern Italy. — **καὶ . . . αὐτήν**, *and which* (G. 156): a relative is seldom repeated in a new case, but a personal or demonstrative takes its place.

46. **δοκέειν**, used absolutely (G. 268). — **μὴ . . . ἀπολίπωσι** (G. 218; 216, 2). — **οὐκέτι** belongs to **ἀξιόμαχοι**. — **οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα** (G. 141, N. 3): **ἀκροβολισάμενοι**, *after skirmishing*.

Page 173. — **Αἰακίδας**: among the *descendants of Aeacus* were Peleus and his son Achilles. It is not to be supposed that the ship was sent for images of these heroes; but it was believed that they would come in person, though unseen, to help the Greeks.

47. **Δημαρήτω**: see note on III. § 57. — **Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ**, between Parnes and Eleusis. — **ὅτεών κοτε εἶη**, indirect question, like **ὅ τι εἶη** (below). — **πρόκατε** (= **πρόκα τε**), *suddenly, all at once*. — **ἱακχον**, the song sung by

the procession of the initiated (μύσται or μεμνημένοι) as they marched along the Sacred Way from Athens to the temple at Eleusis at the annual festival of Demeter: the name comes from the frequent recurrence of the verse "Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε, in which Dionysus (or Bacchus) was invoked under the name of Iacchus.

48. αὐτός belongs to the omitted subject of εἶπαι (see G. 138, N. 8): ἔφη is still understood. — ἐρήμου ἐούσης, causal. — Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, to Demeter (the Earth-mother or Ceres) and Core (the Daughter, Proserpine or Persephone; Κόρη, Ionic Κούρη). — μνείται, is initiated: the term probably refers to the candidates for initiation having their eyes closed or covered. — τὴν φωνήν (G. 159).

Page 174. — 49. οὐδὲ εἷς, ne unus quidem, more emphatic than the simple οὐδεῖς. — ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ, after the dust. — ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνας, towards Salamis; but ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, into the camp. — καταπτόμενος, calling to witness; properly used of clinging to the image of a God who is invoked.

50. θηησάμενοι: see note after § 18, above. — Φαλήρω, the old port of Athens; see map, and note on Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 11.

Herodotus now describes a discussion (here omitted), in which an immediate attack on the Greek fleet at Salamis was urged by all the Persian commanders except Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus. She advised distracting the Greeks by threatening various parts of their coast with attack. But her counsel seemed timid and slow, and was overruled by the majority, whom Xerxes followed. Herodotus also remarks, that the army and navy of Xerxes, when they reached Attica, were as numerous as they had been before the storm at Sepias and the battles at Artemisium and Thermopylae, the losses being made up by accessions from the Greeks. This, however, may well be questioned.

The movement mentioned in the words ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα, seems to have consisted in sailing across to some position southeast of Salamis, from which an attack could be made the next day on the Athenian fleet, which was lying in the Bay of Salamis (on the east side of the island). — ὅτι . . . μέλλοιεν (G. 250, N.).

51. ἐπορεύετο, began its march. — συγχώσαντες, having destroyed (dug away): the road along the shore from Megara to Corinth is here artificially made on the steep side of the Scironian cliff (Σκιρωνίδες), and it is still rendered impassable by an ordinary rain-storm. This is the place at which the robber Sciron kicked travellers into the sea, until he was himself served in the same way by Theseus. (He has resumed his old business in later years, and a new Theseus is sadly needed there.)

Page 175. — φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις, gabions.

52. περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμον θέοντες, running a race for the whole, i. e. having everything at stake. — ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς, each man with his neighbor. — τέλος (G. 160, 2). — ἔξερράγη, the excitement broke out (like a storm). — οἱ μὲν, as if πολλοὶ ἔλεγον preceded; to this corresponds Ἄθη-



ναῖοι δέ, &c. — ἀμύνεσθαι depends on some word like κελύοντες understood with Ἀθηναῖοι, &c.

53. λαθών, *secretly*. — ἐπεδέκοντο πολίτας : after the great losses sustained at Thermopylae and later at Plataea, Thespieae was obliged to admit new citizens. This Sicinnus was an Asiatic by birth, and probably spoke Persian. — λάθρη = λάθρα (G. 182, 2). — φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος, *favoring the King's cause*. — παρέχει, *affords you an opportunity*.

Page 176. — περιίδητε διαδράντας, *allow to escape* : notice the tense of the participle (G. 279, 3). — πρὸς ἑαυτούς, *against each other* (G. 146, N. 3).

The first object of Themistocles was certainly to make a retreat of the Greek fleet impossible, as he believed that thus only could the progress of Xerxes be checked. He also wished to divert the attention of the Persian commanders from their original plan of attack to an entirely new one of cutting off a retreat, thus making them careless at the critical moment, and perhaps inducing them to divide their fleet. It can hardly be doubted, however, that here — as in his later stratagem (§ 85) — he had a crafty scheme for “laying up treasure” (ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι, § 84) with the King, in case the Greek cause should fail or he himself (as actually happened) should be driven to seek the protection of Persia.

54. τοῦτο δέ, *secondly*. — ἀνήγον . . . Σαλαμίνα, *they brought their west wing up to Salamis, sailing round the island (or surrounding the island, i. e. with ships stationed at important points)*. This refers to the ships which formed the west wing as they were stationed the evening before the battle (see note on § 50). — οἱ ἀμφί . . . Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, *those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura* : it is now generally agreed that this Cynosura must be some point of Salamis, and not the Cynosura of the bay of Marathon. The word (lit. *dog's tail*) means simply a *long point of land*, and the eastern point of Salamis suits the description better than any other. Ceos must be some place or point in the immediate neighborhood. — κατείχον . . . πορθμόν : the ships just mentioned, which were lying off Cynosura at nightfall, now advanced and blockaded the channel between Salamis and the peninsula of Piraeus (in which is Munychia). — ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων (cf. πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων, above), sc. τινάς (G. 170, 1). — ὥς . . . ἐξοισομένων, *because (they thought) both the men and the wrecks would be especially likely to be brought ashore here*. — ἐν πόρῳ, &c., i. e. *in the passage where the battle was to be fought*.

The description of Herodotus, thus interpreted, agrees in all essential points with that of Aeschylus. The great tragedian, who had fought in the Athenian ranks of Marathon, was also in the battle of Salamis. It is to be assumed that no account of the position of the Persian fleet on that eventful morning can be correct, which does not agree with his description in the “Persians.” This tragedy, exhibited in Athens in 472 B. C., contains a graphic account of the battle, which a messenger, just arrived at the Persian court from Salamis, narrates to Queen Atossa, the mother of

Xerxes. The three principal points mentioned by Herodotus in § 54 are prominent in Aeschylus. The landing of Persian troops on Psyttaleia, and their slaughter, are made a most important part of the story (see note on § 75). The stratagem of Themistocles is mentioned as the chief cause of the Persian defeat. In consequence of this, Xerxes first orders a triple line of ships "to guard the passage out and the roaring straits" (i. e. the southern entrance of the straits of Salamis); then "others ("to guard," or "to sail") in a circle round the isle of Ajax" (i. e. Salamis). The former are the ships described by Herodotus as holding "all the channel as far as Munychia"; the latter must be "the west wing," which the Persians *bring round* to Salamis (κυκλούμενοι). This last is made clearer by the statement of Diodorus, that Xerxes sent round the Egyptian ships to blockade the passage between the northwest point of Salamis and the mainland of Megara. This is the movement to which Aristides refers in § 58. We may suppose that other ships were placed at other points around Salamis, where they would be of service if the Greeks made their expected attempt to escape by night. Aeschylus then describes the disappointment of the Persians when no signs of flight appeared; and their consternation, at break of day, when, as the sun rose, they heard the solemn paean—the war-cry of the Greeks—and the blast of the trumpet echo from the hills of Salamis. He represents the attack as begun by a Greek ship. The battle seems to have been fought chiefly within the straits, so that the Persian right extended towards Eleusis, and their left towards Piræus (§ 62). The Persians probably advanced in line from the open sea into the narrows, where they were soon thrown into confusion from want of room. Aeschylus speaks of the *stream* (ῥέυμα) of the Persian fleet, which probably refers to their mode of entering the straits. The Persians were so soon thrown into confusion, that the fight must have rapidly lost its regularity, and probably no systematic plan of the Greek commander was carried out. This explains the confused accounts which we have of the progress of the battle, as to which Herodotus (§ 64) confesses himself unable to give details.

The battle of Salamis was fought on the 20th of September, 480 B. C.

55. *συνεστηκότων, in conflict* (see note on II. § 36, above). — Ἀριστίδης: Aristides, who had been one of the generals at Marathon, was banished from Athens by *ostracism* (see Dict. of Antiquities) in 482 B. C.; but his sentence had been revoked since the invasion of Xerxes had begun, on the motion of Themistocles, his bitter enemy and rival. Recalled too late to return to Athens, he thus joined the Athenians in their camp at Salamis the night before the eventful battle, bringing news of the movement of the Persians which was most welcome to Themistocles.

Page 177. — 56. *περὶ τοῦ, &c., on the question, &c* — ἔσον ἐστί, *it is all one*. — Πειλοποννησίοισι is to be joined with ἀποπλόου.

57. *ἐξ ἐμέο, at my instigation*. — παραστήσασθαι, *to bring them over*, i. e. to my opinion. — ὥς οὐ ποιεύντων . . . ταῦτα, *because (as they will say) the barbarians are not really doing this* (G. 277, N. 2).

58. *ἦκειν καὶ ἐκπλώσαι*, indirect discourse for *ἦκω καὶ ἐξέπλωσα*. — *τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας* shows that the sea between Salamis and Aegina was occupied during the night by part of the Persian fleet (see note on § 54).

Page 178. — *ἐπείθοντο* here takes the accusative, as in II. § 34.

59. *ἐς τὸν τρίποδα*: this tripod was erected after the battle of Plataea. A portion of the pedestal, 16 feet high, is now in Constantinople; and the names of the states which “overthrew the Barbarian” (including the Tenians) are still to be read in the Doric inscription. (See Rawlinson’s Herodotus, IV. p. 395.) — *τῇ Δημνίῃ*: see § 11, above. — *κατέδεε*, supply *τὸ ναυτικόν*.

60. *τῶν Τηνίων* is adnominal genitive with *ρήματα* where we should expect *ὑπό* and the genitive with *λεγόμενα*. — *καὶ οἱ* (G. 151, N. 3) . . . *ποιησάμενοι*, used irregularly for the genitive absolute, as if other speakers besides Themistocles were to be mentioned in apposition. — *ἐπιβατέων*, *marines, fighting men on a ship*, as opposed to sailors and rowers: *ἐπιβάτης* originally means any one who *embarks* (*ἐπιβαίνει*); see below, § 89. — *προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα ἐκ πάντων*, i. e. *made the best speech of all*. — *τὰ δὲ ἔπεα . . . ἀντιτιθέμενα*, *and his words throughout contrasted things nobler with things baser*. — *ὅσα* refers to *τούτων*. — *καταστάσι*, *constitution*. — *καταπλέξας*, *having brought to an end*. — *τριήρης*: see § 46, above. — *ἀνήγον*, *got under way*, i. e. *began to advance*: in the next line, the middle is used in the same way, without *νέας*.

61. *ἐπεκέατο*, *were close upon them*. — *ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνακρούεσθαι* (also without *ἐπὶ*) is *to back water*: the statement is, that most of the ships at first backed water and were on the point of running ashore on the island behind them. — *ἔξαναχθείς*, *advancing from the line*. Ameinias is said to have been a brother of Aeschylus; another brother, Cynegirus, fell at Marathon (I. § 20). — *φανείσαν* agrees with *γυναῖκα* implied in the preceding accusative.

Page 179. — *ἀνακρούεσθε* (G. 200, N. 7).

62. *κατά*, *opposed to*. — *πρὸς ἐσπέρης* and *πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ* here are north-west and southeast; Eleusis and the Piraeus giving the general direction of the Persian line. — *Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολάς*; see § 18, above. — *χρήσομαι . . . οὐδέν* (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — *εὐεργέτης ἀνεγράφη*: “Recording the name is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia as the highest object of man’s ambition. See Esther vi. 1.” (Rawlinson.)

63. *τῶν νεῶν*, i. e. Persian, as *τούτους* refers to certain Persians. — *ἔμελλε . . . συνόλισεσθαι*, *the result was bound to be such, &c.* — *ἦσαν καὶ ἐγένοντο*, *were and proved themselves*. — *αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν*, *compared with themselves* (i. e. at other times): the comparative here takes two constructions, a genitive and a clause with *ἦ*, the former being inserted merely for emphasis.

64. *μετεξετέρους*, *individuals*. — *Ἀρτεμισίην*: as Artemisia was queen



of Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, he makes more special mention of her. (See also note on § 50, above.) — *καὶ ἥ*: see below.

Page **180**. — *ἐμπροσθε γάρ*: the clause introduced by *γάρ* ends with *ἐοῦσα*, after which *ἔδοξέ οἱ*, it pleased her, irregularly takes the place of a personal verb belonging to *καὶ ἥ*. — *πρὸς . . . μάλιστα*, close upon. — *τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε*, which succeeded too: see § 66, below. — *φέρουσα*, bearing down. — *ἀνδρῶν τε . . . καί*: this implies that the ship was *not only* (τέ) manned by Calyndians, *but also* (καί) bore the king (?) of Calynda (a Carian town): *ἐπιπλῶντος* is genitive absolute.

65. *εἰ μὲν καὶ τι . . . ἐγεγόνεε*, even if we admit that she had had some quarrel with him, still, &c. — *μέντοι* is used like *δέ* in apodosis (G. 227, 2). — *παραπεσοῦσα*: Herodotus used *συγκυρέω* (as well as *συμπίπτω*) with the participle, like *τυγχάνω* in Attic (G. 279, 4).

66. *ἀπὸ τούτων*, by what she had done (not especially *κακόν*). — *καὶ τόν* (G. 143, 2): so *καὶ τοὺς*. — *φαναί*, assented (imperfect). — *ἐπισταμένους*, recognizing; but *ἠπιστέατο*, believed (wrongly). — *αὐτῇ συνήνεικε*, proved fortunate for her (Krüger), as in § 64, above; *γενόμενα* being causal: but *συνήνεικε* may perhaps be taken with *γενόμενα*, happened to result fortunately, like *συνεκύρησε* in § 65 (we have, however, *συνήνεικε γενέσθαι* in § 66). — *καὶ τὸ . . . γενέσθαι*, and especially the circumstance, that, &c., referring to *τά τε ἄλλα*. — *γεγόνασί μοι* (G. 184, 3, N. 6).

67. *ἀπὸ δέ* (sc. *ἔθανον*) = *ἀπέθανον*.

Page **181**. — *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ*, in the hand-to-hand conflict — *ἀποδεξόμενοι* here belongs to *ἀποδείκνυμι*, as *ἀποδεξάμενοι* in II. § 17: see note on I. § 6.

68. *ὥς . . . ἀπολοίατο* (G. 122, 2), i. e. that the collision was not accidental. — *ὥς προδόντων*, sc. *τῶν Ἰώνων*, because (as the Phoenicians charged, *ὥς*) they had been traitors: the genitive absolute is more emphatic than the simpler *ὥς προδόντας* would have been. — *τοιόνδε*, as follows. — *κατεδύετο . . . κατέδυσε*: notice the difference in the voice and the tense. — *τῆς καταδυσάσης νεός*, the ship which had sunk them. — *ἔσχον*, took possession (not had or held).

69. *ἐκέλευσε*, sc. *τινάς* as subject of *ἀποταμεῖν*. — *αὐτοί* refers to the Phoenicians generally, who were to be taught a lesson. — *ὅκως . . . ἴδοι*, whenever he saw (G. 233). — *ὑπό*, at the foot of: the eminence on which Xerxes sat during the battle is low compared with the higher mountain of which it is a projection. — *πατρόθεν*, i. e. adding his father's name to his own, in the Athenian style. — *προσεβάλετο . . . πάθεος*, i. e. he contributed somewhat (τι) to this disaster of the Phoenicians (G. 170). — *φίλος ἑών*, sc. *τοῖς Ἰωσι*.

Page **182**. — 70. *ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ*, between Psyttaleia and the Piraeus. The battle was fought between Salamis and the mainland, so that this remote position of the Aeginetans could still be called *in the channel*: hence *ἐκπλώνων* and *ἐκπλωούσας*.

71. διώκουσα νέα, (sc. πολεμίνην). — τὴν προφυλασσουσάν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ : see note on III. § 5. — κατακοπέντα, *badly mangled, cut up*. — τῆς στρατηγίδος, *the flag-ship* (of Themistocles). — ἐς τὸν μηδισμόν refers to the charges made against the Aeginetans before the battle of Marathon : see I. § 3. — ὑπό, *to the protection of*.

72. ἤκουσαν ἄριστα, *gained the greatest glory* : εὖ (or κακῶς) ἀκούειν = bene (or male) audire. — Ἀρτεμισίην : see § 65, and note on § 64. — πρότερον ἢ εἶλε = πρὶν εἶλε, *before he had captured, priusquam cepisset* (G. 240, 1 ; 232, 2). — ἢ after μιν = or. — ὅς ἂν ἔλῃ, [to anybody] *who should take her alive* (G. 248). — γυναῖκα : so Demosthenes afterwards resented the Athenians' fear of the later queen Artemisia of Caria (the builder of the Mausoleum), calling her βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, *a barbarian, and a woman at that*.

Page 183. — ἦσαν δὲ . . . Φαλήρω repeats the statement of the last sentence in § 71, after the digression.

73. ὥς δὲ . . . γίνεσθαι, *and when they came, &c.* (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — ἱρὸν Ἀθηναῖος Σκιράδος : this was probably on the southern point of Salamis. — οὔτε τι . . . εἰδόσι for οὐδέν τε . . . εἰδόσι. — ἠρώντο (v. ἀράομαι), *prayed*.

74. οἶοί τε, *ready*. — ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι, *after all was over*. — οὐ μέντοι, &c. : Herodotus, who evidently disbelieved this story, (as Rawlinson remarks) "recorded it more on account of its poetic character than from ill-will towards Corinth."

75. κατεφόνευσαν : this is represented by the messenger in the *Persians* of Aeschylus as taking place after the battle, and as the worst disaster of the day. The Persian here slain are called "the finest, the bravest, the noblest, and the first in the King's confidence." (See § 54, above.)

Page 184. — 76. Κωλιάδα : this was on the Attic coast, a little more than two miles southeast of Phalerum. — ἀποπλήσαι, *to fulfil*, governs τὸν χρησμόν, which is explained by τὸν τε ἄλλον . . . Μουσαῖω, and irregularly by τὸ εἰρημένον, &c. : for the latter we should expect τὸν κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια . . . εἰρημένον. — ἐλελήθει, *had escaped the notice of*. — φρύξουσι in the oracle must mean *shall roast* (i. e. *cook*) with the wood of the oars which shall drift ashore. The MSS. have φρίζουσι, which might mean *shall shudder* at the sight of oars (?). The following words, ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος, favor the common emendation φρύξουσι.

77. χῶμα διαχοῦν, *to build a mole or dam* from the Attic shore to Salamis. He also (τέ) began a bridge of boats, and pretended to be preparing for another sea-fight, while he was really planning a retreat (δρησμόν). — ἐκ παντὸς νόου, *in real earnest*. — πολεμήσειν is irregular after παρσκευάσται (G. 202, 3).

78. παραγίγνεται, *travels* (lit. *comes in, arrives*). — οὕτω, *with such skill*.

Page 185. — ὅσων ἂν ᾗ (G. 225). — μὴ οὐ (G. 283, 7 ; 263, 1, N.). —

κατ' ἄλλον, *by one after another*, a strange expression (perhaps a mistake) for κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον. — λαμπαδηφορία, *torch-race*, like λαμπάς (I. § 7).

80. Μαρδόνιον: see below, § 86. — πειρούμενον, *in attempt*, i. e. *so far as he could*, belongs to the subject of ποίειν. — ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, *thus far did matters advance*. — ὡς τάχεις εἶχε (G. 168, N. 3). — διαφυλαξούσας . . . βασιλείῃ, *to guard the bridges for the King's passage* (G. 265). — Ζωστήρος: Zôster is a promontory of Attica about half-way between the Piraeus and Sunium. — ἐπὶ πολλόν, *to a great distance*.

Page 186. — 81. ἤλπιζον, *they supposed*, followed by εἶναι in indirect discourse (G. 203).

82. εἰ λύσουσι . . . τοῦτ' ἂν . . . ἐργάσαιντο: the direct form would have the same tenses and moods (G. 227, 1). — ἡσυχίην μὴ ἔχειν, *to avoid keeping quiet*. — ἄγοντι μὲν = εἰάν μὲν ἄγῃ (G. 226, 1). — οὔτε . . . ἔσται, *neither can anything succeed*. — κομιδή, *return*. — τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ καρπὸν, *the harvest of each successive year*. — ἀλλά belongs to ἐατέον εἶναι (sc. ἐφη). — ἐς δ' ἔλθῃ, *until he comes*, without ἂν (G. 232, 3; 234).

83. μεταβάλλων, *turning*, i. e. from the others to the Athenians. — ὥρμέατο, *were eager (set out)*. — καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, *even taking it upon themselves*, i. e. *on their own responsibility*. — ὅλλοι = οἱ ἄλλοι.

Page 187. — πολλοῖσι, *many occasions*. — ἀναλαμβάνειν, *retrieve*. — εὖρημα, *good luck or godsend*: the idea is, that the rescue of ourselves and of Greece is a piece of special good fortune.

84. καταβάλλων τὰ ἀγάλματα: the Persian religion, like the Jewish, was uncompromisingly hostile to idols (iconoclastic). A Persian therefore might commit acts with no sacrilegious intent which would be gross impiety in the eyes of a Greek. — ἀπεμαστίγωσε: see II. § 9, above. — ἀλλ' . . . γάρ, *but, since*. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι (G. 270), *let us care for*: we should expect δεῖ here. — καὶ τις (G. 150, N.). — ἀποθήκην: see note on § 53. — τά περ ἐγένετο: Themistocles took refuge in Persia after the death of Xerxes, when he claimed the favor of the King on the ground of the services rendered to the Persian cause at this time, confessing and boasting that his action had been treacherous to the Greeks. It may be doubted whether he deceived the Greeks, or the Persians, or both. Grote remarks: "There existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. . . . Moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful."

85. διέβαλλε, *deceived* them. — Connect σιγᾶν τὰ (= ἃ) ἐνετείλατο.

Page 188. — ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω: after this, Themistocles sent threatening messages to many of the Greek islanders, by which he extorted large sums of money, which laid the foundation of his great wealth of 80 or 100 talents. At Andros he demanded payment in the name of "those mighty Gods of Athens, Persuasion and Necessity"; but the Andrians refused in



the name of their "two unprofitable Gods, who never desert their island, Poverty and Helplessness," and submitted to a siege, in which they baffled all the efforts of the Athenians.

86. *ἔδοξε* with *προπέμψαι* (G. 202) means *it seemed good*: but with *εἶναι* (G. 203) it means *it seemed*, and so with the following infinitive. — *οὐκ ἔφη*, i. e. *said that he would not*. — *τριάκοντα μυριάδας*: this is the army which remained in Greece during the winter, and was defeated at Plataea in the following year (479 B. C.).

87. *οὐδὲν μέρος*, i. e. no important part, compared with the host with which he entered. — *οἱ δέ* (G. 227, 2).

Page 189. — *ἵνα . . . γίνωιτο ἐλαύνων*, *wherever he happened to come in his march*, depends on the frequentative force of *ἐπιτάσσων* (G. 233). — *ἄρμα τοῦ Διός*: see note on II. § 13, above. — *ἀπέλαβε*, *receive back*: so *ἀποδίδωμι* means *give back* or *repay*. — *νεμομένας*, *as they were in pasture*, refers to the eight white mares (called simply *ἵπποι λευκοί* in II. 13) which drew the sacred chariot: compare the poetic use of *ἀφ' ἵππων*, &c., referring to the chariot.

88. *τῇσι νηυσί*: see §§ 80 and 96. — *ἐμπιπλάμενοι*, *gorging themselves*.

89. *ὅδε*, *as follows*, after *λεγόμενος*; not *ὅδε λόγος* (without *ὅ*): this is probably a specimen of the tales current in Greece which were invented to malign the servile temper of the Asiatics. — *χειμαίνεσθαι* (sc. *τὸν βασιλέα*), *was suffering from the storm*. — *ὥστε* = *ἅτε* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἐπιβατέων*, here probably simply *passengers*: see note on § 60.

90. *κηδόμενος* (G. 280). — *οἶκε* = *ἔοικε*.

Page 190. — *ἀποσωθήναι*, *was brought safe*. — *ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι* (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

91. *οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ . . . πάθος*, *neither in other points, nor as to this which [is said to have] happened to the Persians*. — *ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε*, *opposed to the idea that he would have done something like this*: *μή* is used because of the negative idea of *ἀντίξοος* (G. 283, 6), while *οὐ* is added because of *οὐκ ἔχω* (G. 283, 7.) — *τοὺς μὲν καταβιβάσαι* (sc. *ἂν*) is added (by apposition) to explain *ποιῆσαι ἂν*; but *ὅκως οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐξέβαλε* reverts to the construction which *ποιῆσαι ἂν* represents (*ἐποίησε ἂν*).

92. *τραπόμενοι*, after the fruitless siege of Andros: see note on § 85. — *ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς*, *a statue was made*.

93. *τῷ γενομένῳ*, *to him who had shown himself*. — *διενέμοντο*, *gave their votes*; lit. *distributed among themselves*, because all voted for some of those present.

Page 191. — *δεύτερα* (adverb), *in the second place*. — *συνεξέπιπτον*, *happened (fell out) to agree*: see § 30. — *ἐμουνούντο*, *had but one vote apiece*.

94. *ἀκρίτων*, in active sense: Krüger, however, interprets it *unjudged, with their merits undecided*. — *ἀριστήϊα μὲν*: we must understand *ἀνδραγαθίης* or some such word; Plutarch says (Them. XVII.), *Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν*

ἀνδράς, ἐκείνῳ (i. e. Themistocles) δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδοσαν. (Stein will even insert the word in the text.) — ἱππείες: the 300 knights were the regular body-guard of a Spartan king when he went into battle; Leonidas, however, chose a special band of 300 to accompany him to Thermopylae (see note on III. § 21).

95. ὥς . . . ἔχου depends on the idea of *saying* in ἐνείκεε. — Τιμόδημος: we must suppose this man to have been a native of Belbina, a little island near Sunium, and to have been made an Attic citizen and enrolled in the deme of Aphidnae. Plato and many other writers tell the same story of a Seriphian, without making him a citizen of Athens. — ἐὼν, *if I were*, = εἰ ἦν (G. 222; 226, 1), and *if thou wert*. — Ἀθηναῖος must here mean *born in Athens*.

96. ναυτικός, sc. στρατός. — ὁ Ξέρξης περιγενόμενος, unless ὁ is inserted before the participle, will mean *which remained to (belonging to) Xerxes*. — προσέμειξε, *arrived at*. — Κύμη, in Aeolis, on the coast of Asia Minor.

In the following spring, the army of Mardonius re-entered Central Greece, and again occupied Athens; the Athenians, as before, retreated to Salamis. At the great battle of Plataea, in which the Greeks were commanded by the Spartan Pausanias, Mardonius was defeated and slain, and his army nearly annihilated. This disaster, with the defeat in the sea-fight at Mycale, on the same day, was the final act of the Persian wars in Greece.

## THUCYDIDES.

THUCYDIDES is by universal consent acknowledged to be the first of Greek historians. The conscientious care with which he collected and sifted his materials, the calm unprejudiced spirit in which he judged both events and persons, the clear conception which he formed of the tendencies of his age, and of the secret springs of political action, and the acuteness displayed in the philosophic observations with which (unfortunately too seldom) he accompanied his narrative, have rarely been equalled and never surpassed. His sole work is the History of the Peloponnesian War, in eight books, which includes the period from the beginning of the war in 431 B. C. to the middle of 411 B. C., where it breaks off suddenly. Xenophon finished the history of the war, and continued the narrative to the battle of Mantinea (in 362 B. C.), in his Hellenica, a work which makes the greatness of Thucydides conspicuous by striking contrast.

Little is known of the life of Thucydides: in the first sentence of

his history he calls himself "an Athenian," and states that he began to write his account of the Peloponnesian War at the very beginning of the struggle, foreseeing its magnitude and the importance of the prize at stake. He elsewhere tells us that he continued his labors until after the end of the war in 404 B. C. (See page 117.)

The passage here given is taken from the fourth book. It contains the account of the fortification of the Messenian Pylus in 425 B. C. by the Athenians under Demosthenes (the same general who twelve years later fell a victim in the disastrous Sicilian expedition), the attempt of the Spartans to dislodge them, the blockade of the Lacedaemonian force in the little island of Sphacteria, the appointment of Cleon to the chief command, and the final surrender of 292 Lacedaemonians, including 120 real Spartans, — such a prize as had never before fallen into an enemy's hands. The account is especially enlivened by the brilliant and amusing episode of Cleon, the leather-dresser and politician, the great popular leader of the day at Athens, who complained bitterly (and probably with reason) of want of energy in the siege of Sphacteria, saying it would be easy to take the island "if the generals were men," and he would have done it himself if he had been general. Nicias resigned his office of general, and nominated Cleon as his successor. The latter accepted unwillingly, and only in consequence of the clamor of the people; but he did it with the characteristic boast, that within twenty days he would either bring home the Lacedaemonians as prisoners or leave them dead on the island. This promise he actually performed to the letter, and the Spartan prisoners were brought back as Cleon's prize. Thus the attempt of Cleon's enemies to make him ridiculous and to ruin him ended in giving him still greater glory and wider influence.

The present extract begins with the second chapter of the fourth book, and ends with the forty-first. About one third of the whole passage, as it stands in Thucydides, is here omitted.

Page 192. — 1. τοῦ ἔρος, i. e. the spring of 425 B. C. — ἤγειτο δέ, &c., a form of words often used by Thucydides in describing the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica, of which this was the fifth. — τὰς . . . ναῦς, i. e. the ships mentioned at the end of Book III. In the preceding winter Athens had voted to send 40 ships to Sicily, and had chosen three commanders, one of whom, Pythodorus, went immediately; — whence the two others are called here τοὺς ὑπολοίπους.

2. ἅμα παραπλέοντας, as they coasted along (G. 277, N. 1). Corcyra (Corfu) lay on the route by which the Athenians usually sailed to Sicily, following the coast as far as possible. — φυγάδων: these were of the expelled oligarchical party, restored and sustained by the Spartans: they had already (B. C. 427) provoked a bloody and desperate revolution in Corcyra. —



αὐτόσε, i. e. to Corcyra. — καὶ λιμοῦ ὄντος, &c. : here καὶ connects τιμωροὶ and νομίζοντες, while ὄντος is causal. — κατασχέσειν τὰ πράγματα, *that they should gain the mastery*. — ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Demosthenes had commanded an army in Acarnania the year before. — αὐτῷ δεηθέντι, *at his own request*.

3. ἐγένοντο . . . κατὰ τὴν Λ., *arrived off the coast of Laconia*. — ἠπέλγοντο, *wished to press on* (G. 200, N. 2).

4. ἤξιου, *called upon them, asked them*.

Page 193. — εὐπορίαν, sc. οὔσαν (G. 280). — ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας, i. e. *a large extent of the country* : ἐπὶ πολὺ is used as a neuter noun and one of the subjects of ὄν (see § 16). — σταδίου, i. e. about 46 miles. — ποτὲ οὔσῃ (G. 204, N. 1). — τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν, *to put the state to expense*.

5. ὕστερον . . . κοινώσας, *implying that he communicated his plan to them without success*. — ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, i. e. *detained by the storm which brought them into Pylus*. — περιστάσιν, *coming round, or setting to work* (Arnold), agreeing with στρατιώταις. — λογάδην, *picking the stones, an adverb of manner*. — ὥς . . . ξυμβαίνει, *as each piece happened to fit* (G. 233). — πηλόν, *mortar*. — ἐγκεκυφότες (sc. οὕτως) ὥς, *stooping [in such a way] that, as a final clause ; or ὥς μέλλοι may be taken like ὥς . . . ξυμβαίνει, above* (G. 233). — ὅπως μὴ ἀποπίπτοι (G. 216).

6. τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα, *the parts most exposed to attack*. — ἐξεργασάμενοι (G. 279, 4). — αὐτό, *of itself, naturally*. — ἐποιοῦντο, sc. τὸ πρᾶγμα. — ὥς . . . οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντας σφᾶς, *accusative absolute* (G. 278, 2, N. ; 277, N. 2), *in the belief that they (the Athenians) would not withstand them* (σφᾶς, Spartans). — ληψόμενοι agrees with the subject of ἐποιοῦντο, and is therefore not in the accusative absolute. — ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, *in Attica*, all of which was politically a part of Athens : see, below, ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

7. ὥς . . . κατελιγμένης, *we should expect the acc.* (G. 280) ; but the genitive is occasionally used, as this case generally follows πυνθάνομαι (G. 171, 2). — οἰκείον σφίσι (sc. εἶναι), *as we say, it came home to them*.

Page 194. — πρῶ ἐσβαλόντες refers to the invasion of Attica. — χαιμών, *bad weather*.

8. οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων, i. e. *those who were nearest to the city of Sparta*. The perioeci were descendants of the old Achaean population of Laconia, which had been subjugated by the Dorian invasion ; they formed an intermediate class between the Dorian aristocracy (οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτοί) and the Helots (who were slaves). — ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι, *carried over the isthmus by machines*. A canal had been cut through this Leucadian isthmus about two centuries before, but it had since been choked by sand so as to be impassable. — πεζός here means *land force*, as opposed to naval forces : see note on Herod. II. § 23. — προσπλέοντων (temporal). φθάσας, *hastily*. — ἀγγεῖλαι (G. 265).

9. καὶ connects ἐίργασμένον and ἐνόντων, as both contain reasons for ἐλπίζοντες . . . αἰρήσειν. — ἦν . . . ἔλωσι might have been εἰ . . . ἔλοιεν (G. 248). — ἐς αὐτόν (G. 191, N. 6).

10. **Σφακτηρία**, the long island now called *Sphagia*, which nearly closes the entrance to the great bay of Navarino. The channels on both sides, however, are now much wider than they were in 425 B. C. See plan of Pylus. — **τῇ μὲν . . . τῇ δέ**, *on one side* (i. e. the northern), *and on the other*.

Page 195. — **ὀκτὼ ἢ ἑννέα**, sc. **ναυσὶ διάπλουν**, i. e. eight or nine ships could sail through the channel abreast. — **ἀντιπρόροις**, *with their prows facing* (any one entering the bay).

11. **τῶν καταλειφθεισῶν**: of the five ships left him (§ 6) two had been sent to summon Eurymedon (§ 8). — **προσεσταύρωσε**, *he built a stockade* (to defend them) *in addition* to the protection afforded by the fort. — **παραγενόμενοι** (G. 279, 2).

12. **ἦν προσβάλλη**, sc. **ὁ πεζός** (G. 248). — **ἐκείνους**, i. e. the Lacedaemonians.

13. **ἄραντες**: Thucydides often uses **αἶρω** intransitively (perhaps with **ναὺς** or **στόλον** understood) of *making a movement* with a fleet or an army.

Page 196. — **οἱ δὲ . . . ἐποιοῦντο**: the meaning is, that they made divisions, each containing few ships; and made their attacks with single divisions, allowing the others to rest in the mean time. — **ἐν μέρει**, *in turn*, belongs equally to **ἀναπαύοντες** and to the following words. — **εἴ πως . . . ἔλοιεν**, *in case they should succeed in capturing the fort, &c.* (G. 226, 4, N. 1).

14. **ἐγένετο**, *made himself* (not was). — **σχεῖν**, like **προσσχέιν** above, *to effect a landing*. — **ἀποκνοῦντας** follows **ὄρων** (G. 280). — **τῶν νεῶν** (sc. **τινάς**) belongs to **ξυνδιατρίψωσιν**. — **ξύλων**, (mere) *timbers*. — **φειδομένους** belongs to the omitted subject of **περιδεῖν**. — **πεποιημένους** (G. 279, 3). — **ὀκείλαντας** belongs to **τοὺς ξυμμάχους**, which is subject of **κρατῆσαι** as well as of **ἀποκνήσαι**.

15. **τοιαῦτα** and **πολλά** (G. 159, N. 2). — **παρεχειρεσία** was applied to those parts of the ship (either at the bow or the stern) which were beyond the seats of the rowers, **ἔξω τῆς εἰρεσίας**. — **περιερρύη** (v. **περιρρέω**), *slipped from around* (his arm). — **προσβολῆς** depends on **ὅ**, being attracted from the antecedent clause where it would depend on **τρόπαιον**. — **τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . ὑποχωρούντων** (G. 277, 2), connected by **καί** with the causal dative **χαλεπότητι**.

16. **καὶ ταύτης**, *and that too*, as often **καὶ ταῦτα**. — **ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς δόξης** is nearly equivalent to **πολὺ μέρος τῆς δόξης**, **ἐπὶ πολὺ** being used almost like a substantive (see § 4). The meaning is, *it made at that time much of the glory of the one* (the Spartans) *that they were peculiarly an inland people, &c., and of the others* (the Athenians) *that they were maritime, &c.* — **ἐν τῷ τότε** (G. 141, N. 3). **ἡπειρώταις**, predicate after **εἶναι** (G. 138, N. 8); so **θαλασσίους**, sc. **εἶναι**.

Page 197. — 17. **παρ-έπεμψαν**, *sent along* (the coast). — **Ἀσίνην**, on the Messenian Gulf. — **ἐλπίζοντες . . . μηχαναῖς**: the principal idea is in **ἐλπίζοντες . . . εἶλεν** (G. 203, N. 2), while **ὑψος μὲν ἔχειν** interrupts the main construction, depending loosely on the idea of *thinking* implied in **ἐλπίζοντες**

(G. 203), — *hoping, although the wall was high, still to take it by their engines, since it was particularly easy to land* (ἐπειδὴ ἀπόβασις μάλιστα ἦν). — ὅπην καθορμίσωνται (G. 244, last ex.). — ἦν μὲν . . . ἐθέλωσι, sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (G. 247); an apodosis like ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντες, to have a sea-fight, is to be supplied from ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. — εἰ δὲ μή, otherwise; see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 52, 1, N. 2: the full sentence would be ἦν δὲ μή ἐθέλωσι. — ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπισπλευσούμενοι, with the intention of themselves sailing in against them (G. 277, N. 2). — καὶ οἱ μὲν, i. e. the Lacedaemonians. — ἃ διανοήθησαν: see § 9. — φράσαι, in apposition with the antecedent of ἃ. — οὔτε . . . ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες (G. 279, 4), nor did they happen to do.

18. γνόντες, *perceiving*, i. e. that the entrances were open. — ἐκάτερον: see § 10. — καὶ μετεώρους . . . ἀντιπρώρους, both already afloat and with prows pointing towards them. — ὡς διὰ βραχέος, as (was likely) at so short a distance, belongs to what follows. — ἔτρωσαν, disabled, seldom used of ships. — αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν (G. 188, 5, N.). — ἐν τῇ γῇ, where we should expect ἐς τὴν γῆν; by a mixture of two expressions, ἐν τῇ γῇ οὔσαις and ἐς τὴν γῆν καταπεφευγυῖαις. Krüger remarks that this use of ἐν for ἐς is found in Attic Greek only with the perfect. — πληρούμεναι, i. e. as they were taking their crews on board. — ἀναδούμενοι, making fast to them (G. 98, N. 1).

19. ἐπσβαίνοντες, see ἐπισπλευσούμενοι in § 17, above.

Page 198. — τῶν νεῶν, genitive after ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι (G. 171, 1), instead of accusative after ἀνθειλκον. — ἐν τούτῳ . . . παρῆν (for ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ . . . ᾧ τινι μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆν), each man believed that there had been slow progress in any work in which he had not been personally present: κекωλῦσθαι represents the impersonal κекώλυται, there has been a hindrance, of the direct discourse; for ᾧ μὴ τινι παρῆν, see G. 232, 1. — ἀντηλλαγμένος, mutually changed. — περὶ τὰς ναῦς belongs to ἐγένετο θόρυβος. — ὡς εἰπεῖν (G. 268). — ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἤ, i. e. they were doing nothing else than. — ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον, as far as possible. — περιέπλεον, they sailed round the island, in token of defiance. — καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων, i. e. from all, as well as from the few mentioned in § 8.

20. τὰ τέλη, the magistrates, used like αἱ ἀρχαί, the authorities: it takes masculine participles (G. 138, N. 4). — ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, upon what they acknowledged (ὡς) to be a great calamity. — παραχρῆμα, on the spot, belongs to ὀρῶντας; and ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς βουλευεῖν. — ἀδύνατον ὄν (G. 280). — παθεῖν and κρατηθῆναι depend on κινδυνεύειν. — παθεῖν τι is a common euphemism for θανεῖν. — τὰ περὶ Πύλον is used as if σπεισαμένους preceded, having made a truce for the neighborhood of Pylus: like σπένδεσθαι ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, to make a truce for the removal of the dead (Thucyd. III. 24).

21. Λακεδαιμονίους . . . παραδοῦναι (G. 271). — ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν, like πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν.

Page 199. — σῖτον τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον, meal (lit. grain) in a fixed quantity and ready-kneaded: a χοῖνιξ was about a quart, and a κοτύλη about half a pint. — κρέας, a piece of meat, of course limited in size. — θερά-



ποντες are Helots. — ὀρώντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, *under the inspection of the Athenians*. — ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας, *so far as (they can) without landing*.

22. ὅ τι δ' ἂν . . . παραβαίνωσιν καὶ ὅτι οὖν, *and whatever of these terms either party shall transgress, even in any particular*, = ἣν τι . . . παραβαίνωσιν (G. 232, 3). — λελύσθαι, *shall (at once and beyond question) be void* (G. 202, 2, N. 2). — ἐσπείσθαι αὐτάς, *that it (the treaty) shall be considered as having been made*. — μέχρι οὗ, *until*, takes the subjunctive or optative like the simple μέχρι (G. 239, 2) : for ἂν omitted, see G. 239, 2, N. 1. — οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *lit. the ambassadors from Athens*, by *prolepsis* (πρόληψις, *anticipation*). — ἐλθόντων (sc. τῶν πρέσβειν), *on their return*. — λελύσθαι, *perfect (as above), shall be (finally) void*; while ἀποδοῦναι is the aorist infinitive in its ordinary use (G. 202), *shall return*. — ὁμοίως οἷας περ refers to the condition of the ships. — παραλάβωσιν refers to the future (G. 232, 3), its apodosis being found in ἀποδοῦναι. — ἐπὶ τούτοις, *on these terms*.

Four chapters here omitted contain the speech of the Spartan embassy in the Athenian assembly. “Their proposition was in substance a very simple one, — Give up to us the men in the island, and accept, in exchange for this favor, peace, with the alliance of Sparta.” Grote.

23. τοσαῦτα (G. 148, N. 1) refers to the speech here omitted. — ἐπιθυμεῖν, κωλύεσθαι, δέξεσθαι, and ἀποδώσειν represent in the direct discourse ἐπεθύμουν, ἐκωλύοντο (G. 203, N. 1), δέξονται, and ἀποδώσουσιν. — σφῶν, the Spartans (G. 144, 2). — διδομένης, *offered* (G. 200, N. 2). — τὰς σπονδὰς . . . ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, *that they now had the treaty in their own power, to negotiate it with them (the Spartans) whenever they might please*. — ἐτοῖμος is here declined with two terminations (G. 63, N.). — ποιεῖσθαι is middle, and has σπονδὰς understood as its object.

24. τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ is subject of κομισθῆναι : ὅπλα and σφᾶς αὐτούς are objects of παραδόνας. — ἐλθόντων, see § 22, above. — Λακεδαιμονίους, subject of κομίσασθαι, *recover*. — ἀπὸ . . . ξυμβάσεως, i. e. by the Thirty Years' Truce, made in 445 B. C., by which Athens gave up all her rights in Peloponnesus. (See Thucyd. I. 115; Grote, Vol. V. Chap. 45.) — κατὰ ξυμφοράς, *in consequence of defeats*. — δεομένων . . . σπονδῶν, *being then somewhat more in need of a truce* : for τι, see G. 160, 2.

Page 200. — 25. ξυνέδρους, i. e. a committee. — σφίσιν (G. 144, 2), i. e. for the Spartans. — οἵτινες . . . ξυμβήσονται (G. 236, N. 3). — πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, *was vehement against them* (G. 138, N. 7). — γιγνώσκειν . . . πρότερον, *imperfect infinitive* (G. 203, N. 1). — ἔχοντας . . . αὐτούς (G. 280). — οἵτινες, *causal relative* (G. 238). — εἰ διανοοῦνται (G. 248, 1). — τι belongs to ξυγχωρεῖν (G. 159), *to make any concession*. — οὐ τυχόντες, *not having gained [their object]*. — ποιήσοντας, like ὄν, depends on ὀρώντες.

26. ἰσχυριζόμενοι, *maintaining stoutly* (ἰσχυρῶς). — λελύσθαι, used as in § 22. — ἀδίκημα, *as an act of injustice*, follows τὸ τῶν νεῶν.

27. τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἐπολεμέιτο, *passive for τὰ περὶ τὸν Πύλον πολεμεῖν, to carry on the war about Pylus* (G. 198). — ὁπότε . . . εἴη, belongs only

to the preceding clause, *except, in case of a wind, &c.* (G. 233). — ἐβδομή-κοντα, see § 17.

Page 201. — εἴ τις παραπέσοι (sc. καιρός), *in case one should occur* (G. 226, 4, n. 1), not an indirect question. — ὥστε . . . σῶσαι, connected with καιρόν.

28. ὅτι μὴ μία, *except one*; here ὅτι was originally the relative ὅ τι, and the ellipsis was ὅ τι μὴ ἦν μία (*none which was not one*). — οἷον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ, *such water as was to be expected* (i. e. on the coast, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ). — αἱ μὲν . . . ὥρμουν, i. e. some of the ships came near the shore for the crews to take their meals, while others were anchored at some distance from the shore.

29. οὕς, causal, = ἐπεὶ αὐτούς (G. 238). — ἡμερῶν (G. 179, 1). — ἐν νήσῳ, sc. ὄντας. — αἴτιον ἦν (G. 135, n. 4). — τὸν βουλόμενον, quemvis, subject of ἐσάγειν. — ἀλληλεσμένον, v. ἀλέω (G. 102). — τάξαντες, &c., *having fixed [its price] at a large sum, i. e. offering a high price for it*. — ἐσαγαγόντι, past to the future idea of giving implied in ὑπισχνούμενοι. — τῆς νήσου, partitive genitive.

30. ἐτήρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι, *they watched [for a chance] to be carried in by the wind*: opposed to ὅσοι δὲ . . . ἡλίσκοντο. The intermediate words explain ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι. — τοῖς δέ, as if τοῖς μὲν (referring to the Athenians) had preceded ἄπορον. — ἀφειδής, *reckless, without regard to risk*: the following clause with γάρ gives the reason of their recklessness. — τετιμημένα χρημάτων, *rated in money*, i. e. since it was understood that a certain sum would be paid for them if they were injured (G. 142, 3). — οἱ ὀπλῖται, i. e. of the besieged. — ἐφύλασσον, *were watching* (for them). — κατὰ τὸν λιμένα, i. e. on the side of the great harbor. — καλωδίῳ, *by a cord*, diminutive of κάλως. — μήκωνα, *poppy-seed*, which mixed with honey was taken to relieve hunger. — λίνου σπέρμα, *flax-seed*.

Page 202. — σφᾶς (G. 144, 2) is the object of λανθάνειν, to which τοὺς ἐσπέμποντας or τὸ ἐσπέμπειν is understood as subject.

31. τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιλάβοι, *might come upon their blockade*. — ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρόν, *having some strong ground of confidence*. — δεξάμενοι (G. 277, 2).

32. κωλύμης, see § 24. — ταῦτ' αἰς διέβαλλεν = ταῦτ' ἐκείνοις οὕς (G. 153, n. 1). — For the case of εἰπὼν and ψευδής, see G. 138, n. 8. — φανήσεσθαι may depend on ἀναγκασθήσεται, in the exceptional construction noticed in G. 202, 3 (see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 27, n. 2, a); or it may depend on γνούς irregularly, and by a change of construction. — καὶ ὥρμημένους . . . γνώμῃ, *even somewhat more inclined in mind*. — ἀπεσήμαινεν, *he alluded*. — ῥάδιον εἶναι depends on the idea of saying implied either in ἀπεσήμαινεν or in ἐπιτιμῶν. — παρασκευῇ, *with a (proper) force*. — εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν, *if the generals were men*, representing εἰ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν of the direct form (like εἰ μὴ πιστεύουσιν and εἰ δοκεῖ above); not the same with εἰ ἄνδρες ἦσαν. — αὐτὸς γ' ἂν . . . ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, *he would have done this himself, if he had been in command*. See G. 211 and 222 (ποιῆσαι ἂν = ἐποίησα ἂν). — αὐτός is adjective (G. 145, 1); for its case see G. 138, n. 8.

33. ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα, *against Cleon*. — ὅτι οὐ . . . πλέει, [asking] *why he did not sail, even as things stood*. — εἰ φαίνεται, *if it appeared*, might have been εἰ φαίνοιτο, like εἰ . . . εἶεν in § 32. — τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι, *so far as they (the generals) were concerned* (G. 268, N.). — ἀφιέναι, *resigned*. — παραδωσείοντα (desiderative of παραδίδωμι), *wished to transfer it [the command]*.

Page 203. — οὐκ ἔφη . . . στρατηγεῖν (G. 138, N. 8). — οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος . . . τολμήσαι, here τολμήσαι ἂν = τολμήσειεν ἂν (G. 211): compare ποιῆσαι ἂν in § 32.

34. ἐξανεχώρει (transitive), *sought to escape from what he had said*. — οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως . . . ἐξαπαλλαγῇ, indirect question for πῶς ἐξαπαλλαγῶ; (G. 244), *not knowing how he should longer evade, &c.* — οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι . . . πλεύσεσθαι τε λαβὼν, &c. represents οὔτε φοβοῦμαι . . . πλεύσομαι τε λαβὼν, &c., of the direct form; so below, ταῦτα ἔχων ἢ ἄξω . . . ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτενῶ. For λαβὼν and ἔχων see G. 138, N. 8. — ἔκ τε Αἰνίου, *from Aenos*, on the coast of Thrace; this τέ would naturally stand after πελταστάς. — ἦσαν βεβοηθηκότες, periphrastic pluperfect (G. 118, 4). — αὐτοῦ, *on the spot*. — ἀσμένους ἐγίνετο, *were pleased with what had happened*, lit. *it happened to them pleased* (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — τοῦ ἑτέρου, *one or the other (of two)*. — ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι depends (in sense) on λογιζομένοις, being in apposition with τεύξεσθαι. — χειρώσασθαι would regularly stand in the same construction (i. e. in the future), but it depends on the idea of *hoping* implied in the preceding words (see G. 203, N. 2): translate ἢ σφαλεῖσι . . . χειρώσασθαι, *or, if they should be disappointed in this calculation* (i. e. in getting rid of Cleon), [hoping] *to get the Lacedaemonians into their hands*. — σφαλεῖσι = εἰ σφαλεῖμεν (G. 226, 1).

35. διαπραξάμενος and προσελόμενος belong to Κλέων understood. — προσ-ελόμενος, *taking, in addition to himself*; so προσ-έλαβε. — ὥρμητο, *were eager*. — ῥώμην . . . παρέσχεν, *also the burning of the island gave him encouragement*. — στρατοπέδῳ follows προσβάλλοντας. — βλέπτειν ἂν depends on ἐνόμιζε, to be supplied from the preceding clause.

Page 204. — 36. τοῖς ἐσχάτοις προσίσχοντας (G. 138, N. 8): the Athenians were obliged to land on the edge of the island to take their meals. — διὰ προφυλακῆς, *under guard* (lit. *an outpost*). — κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης, *a small extent of the forest*: cf. ἐπὶ πολὺ, § 4, above, and note. — ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν (G. 279, 2): for [καί] see below. — ἐλάσσοσι, *for a less number than they pretended*: ὑπονοῶν (with πρότερον) is imperfect participle (G. 204, N. 1). — τήν τε νήσον . . . οὔσαν: this clause is transferred from its usual place after ποιείσθαι by Classen, on Krüger's suggestion: καί above is enclosed in brackets by Classen. Without these changes the passage is hardly intelligible. — ἀξιόχρεων . . . ποιείσθαι, i. e. *a thing which deserved greater pains on the part of the Athenians*.

37. ὥς ἦξων (G. 280, N. 4). — ἅμα γερόμενοι = ξυνελθόντες. — σφίσι, the Athenians. — κελεύειν παραδοῦναι depends on προκαλούμενοι, but is also understood with βούλονται: *summoning them, if they wished, to command*,



&c. — ἐφ' ᾧ, *on condition that* (G. 236, N. 2) : τηρήσονται, as passive. — ξυμβαῖν : the active would be συμβαίνειν τι, *to make some agreement* (G. 159, N. 2). See §§ 55, 56. — νυκτός, i. e. *before daybreak*, included in τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. — ὀλίγον belongs to πρὸ τῆς ἑω. — τῆς νήσου, partitive genitive after ἐκατέρωθεν, which implies that they landed *from both sides*.

38. ὧδε, *as follows*. — διετετάχατο (G. 118, 5, N.). — καὶ ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, *and what was at the same time (τέ) most level and near the water*. — αὐτὸ τοῦσχατον, *the very farthest* [corner] of the island, explained by τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον.

Page 205. — λίθων (G. 167, 4). — λογάδην : see § 5. — εἰ . . . καταλαμβάνοι, i. e. *if they should be driven to a forced retreat* ; βιαιότερα : the comparative implies greater compulsion than they then had reason to expect.

39. οἷς ἐπέδραμον (G. 187), see δρόμω, end of § 37 : ἐπιτρέχω in this sense may take the accusative. — λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, *not being perceived in their landing* (G. 160, 1) : although this belongs to Ἀθηναῖοι, it is connected by καὶ to the other descriptive clause ἐν τε ταῖς εὔναις ἔτι, which refers to φύλακας. — αὐτῶν refers to φύλακας : the participial clause is more prominent in the genitive absolute than if the participle agreed with its noun. — ἐς ἔφορμον : see § 27. — ἅμα δὲ ἔω (G. 186). — θαλαμίων : these were the rowers of the lowest bench of a trireme, those of the upper and middle benches being called θρανῖται and ζυγῖται. — ὥς ἕκαστοι (sc. ἔτυχον), *in various ways*. — κατείχον (neuter), *were stationed*.

40. διέστησαν, *divided themselves*. — πρὸς ὃ τι ἀντιάξωνται, indirect question (G. 244). — ἀμφίβολοι, properly, in a position in which they were *attacked on every side* (πανταχόθεν βαλλόμενοι) ; here perhaps simply *in perplexity, not knowing which way to turn* : see § 47, below. — ἐκατέρωθεν : *on either side*.

41. οἱ περὶ (G. 141, N. 3). — ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον = τὸ πλείστον, or οἱ πλείστοι, *the greater part*. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, *in front of them*, opposed to ἐκ πλαγίου, *on the sides*. — οὗτοι, i. e. οἱ ὀπλίται, called ἐκείνοι below.

Page 206. — προσκείντο (G. 233 ; see 127, VI.). — καὶ οὔ, *and they* (G. 151, N. 3). — προλαμβάνοντες τῆς φυγῆς, *getting the start in flight* (lit. *securing beforehand a part of their flight*), like προλαμβάνειν τῆς ὁδοῦ (G. 170). — τραχέων ὄντων, sc. τῶν χωρίων, expressing the cause of προκαταλαμβάνοντες, and connected by καὶ to the causal dative χαλεπότητι. — ὅπλα, i. e. the heavy arms of ὀπλίται.

42. προσπίπτοιν, sc. οἱ ψилоί (G. 233). — ὄντας (G. 280). — τῷ ἀμύνασθαι, *in their defence*. — νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης, see § 36. — ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω, *rose thick*. — τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, *what was before him*, αὐτοῦ referring to τινὰ understood as subject of ἰδεῖν.

43. πῖλοι, *cuirasses of felt* (Liddell and Scott), or perhaps “stuffed clothing of wool or felt” (Grote). — ἔστεγον, *were proof against* : στέγω (cf. Latin tēgo) means *to keep out what is outside* (as applied to a ship which does not

*leak*), or to hold a liquid without leaking. — βαλλομένων, when they (the Lacedaemonians) were hit. — οὐδὲν . . . χρήσασθαι, compare τί τοῦτοις χρήσομαι; (G. 188, 1, n. 2). — τοῦ προορᾶν (G. 262, 2): τῇ ὅψει adds little to the meaning of προορᾶν, to look forward with the sight. — κινδύνου τε . . . καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες, these two clauses denote the circumstances of what precedes (G. 277, 6). — καθ' ὃ τι . . . σωθῆναι, indirect question depending on ἐλπίδα; the idea being, they were in despair when they thought how they could defend themselves and be saved.

44. ἀναστρέφεσθαι (like Latin *versari*), to move about in a place; sometimes simply to be. — συγκλήσαντες, closing their ranks, forming a close body. — ἐνέδοσαν, gave way, retired. — πολλῶ (G. 188, 2).

Page 207. — παρὰ πᾶν, sc. τοῦ ἐρύματος. — ἥπερ ἦν ἐπίμαχον refers to παρὰ πᾶν, as if this were an adverb like πανταχῇ.

45. χωρίου ἰσχύϊ, owing to the strength of the place. — περίοδον αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν οὐκ εἶχον = περιέναι αὐτοὺς καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι οὐκ εἶχον: with the verbal nouns ἔχω has the same force as with the infinitive. For αὐτῶν, see G. 167, 3. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, in front, i. e. directly upon them. — ὥσασθαι, like ἐξελάσασθαι below. — σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως, like αὐτῶν κύκλωσιν above. — ἐς τὰ πλάγια, the act of surrounding, κύκλωσις, implies an attack upon the sides (G. 191, n. 6).

46. ἀπέραντον ἦν, it (the business) was endless. — ἔφη, &c.: the direct discourse would be: ἄλλως (in vain) ποιοῦμεν ἡμεῖς: εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε ἐμοὶ δοῦναι . . . μέρος τι, περιέναι (G. 265) . . . ὁδῶ ἧ ἂν αὐτὸς εὕρω, δοκῶ βιάσασθαι (I have a mind to force) τὴν ἔφοδον. When δοκῶ has this meaning, the dependent infinitive does not stand in indirect discourse (G. 202 and 203). — κατὰ νότου αὐτοῖς, in their rear (G. 184, 3, n. 4). — κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον . . . νήσου, i. e. wherever he could find a place which offered a foothold on the steep cliffs of the island; ἀεὶ being used as in ὁ ἀεὶ βασιλεύς, whoever was king. — περιελθὼν ἔλαθεν, he got round unobserved (G. 279, 4). — τοὺς μὲν, the Lacedaemonians; τοὺς δέ, his friends. — τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ, by the unexpected act, or by the unexpectedness of the act (G. 139, 2).

47. γιγνόμενοι . . . ξυμπτώματι, falling into the same mischance: σύμπτωμα (rare in classic Greek) means properly the coincidence of one thing with another (whence our *symptom*); then accident, mischance. — ὡς εἰκάσαι (G. 268). — τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, sc. ξυμπτώματι, depending on τῷ αὐτῷ (G. 186). — οὗτοί τε corresponds to ἐκεῖνοί τε, and the following words (through ὑπεχώρουν) belong to it, leaving οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι without a verb. — πολλοῖς τε . . . καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ σωμάτων gives two reasons for ὀπεχώρουν, and διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν gives the reason for ἀσθενείᾳ.

48. γνούς (G. § 138, n. 2, b) would regularly have been γνόντες: see ἔπαυσαν. (G. 135, n. 1.)

Page 208. — ὅτι . . . διαφθαρσομένους: after γνούς we might have either ὅτι διαφθαρῆσονται (-σوينτο) or διαφθαρσομένους without ὅτι (G. 280); a mixture of constructions like this in so simple a sentence probably comes from mere carelessness. — εἴ πως ἐπικλασθεῖεν (G. 226, 4, n. 1;

248, 2), in case they should be broken in spirit: if [τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι] is not an interpolation here (as it seems to be), it must depend on the idea of *compulsion* or *persuasion* implied in the preceding words. — τοῦ δεινοῦ (G. 175, 2). — παραδοῦναι may depend on ἐκήρυξαν or on βούλοιντο (or on both): either they proclaimed (to them) to surrender, &c., if they wished; or they proclaimed (to them), if they wished to surrender, &c., to do so. — ὥστε βουλευσάμενοι, on condition that (G. 266, 2) they (the Athenians) should determine. — ὅ τι . . . δοκῇ (G. 232, 3). — παρήκαν . . . ἀνέσεισαν, lowered their shields and waved their hands, to signify assent. — προσίσθαι, assent to (lit. admit): the participial construction common with δηλῶ (G. 280) is not used here, as the expression δηλοῦντες προσιέμενοι would be awkward.

49. ἐκείνων, the Lacedaemonians. — ἐφηρημένον, chosen as successor (ἐπι-). — εἰ . . . πάσχοιεν, in case anything should happen to those (the other two).

50. διακηρυκέσθαι, to send heralds over (δια-), implying to ask; on which idea ὅ τι . . . ποιεῖν depends. — ἐκείνων . . . ἀφέντων, the Athenians not letting any one of them (the Lacedaemonians) go on this errand. — ἀπήγειλεν ὅτι (G. 241, 1, end): the quotation is here direct, and ὅτι is not to be translated. — μηδὲν αἰσχροῦ ποιοῦντας, provided ye do nothing disgraceful.

51. διεκομίσαντο, carried their dead over (δια-) to the mainland.

Page 209. — 52. ὀκτώ, genitive with ἀποδέοντες (G. 77, 2). — Σπαρτιάται: of the 292 prisoners, about 120 were full-blooded Spartan citizens, some of them of the first families in Sparta; the others were Lacedaemonian perioeci (see note on § 8). — οὐ σταδία, not a regular hand-to-hand battle, pugna stataria. — ἐν αἷς . . . ἀπῆσαν, while the ambassadors went away; but the emendation ἀπήσαν, were absent, is generally accepted here. — λάθρα, as described in § 30. — ἐνδεεστερώς . . . ἐξουσίου, i. e. more sparingly than the state of his supplies required.

53. ἀπέβη, was fulfilled (lit. came out). — ὥσπερ ὑπέστη, as he undertook to do: see § 34. — μάλιστα qualifies παρὰ γνώμην. — ἤξιουν . . . παραδοῦναι, i. e. they did not think it possible for the Lacedaemonians to surrender their arms (lit. they did not expect the Lacedaemonians to surrender, &c.). — ἀποθνήσκειν, sc. ἤξιουν.

54. μὴ εἶναι (G. 283, 6). — καὶ τίνος . . . τῶν ξυμμάχων: Thucydides seems to wish to relieve the Athenian citizens from the charge. — δι' ἀχθηδόνα, to annoy him. — εἰ . . . κάγαθοί: the question was asked in a way which implied that those who were not killed were not καλοὶ κάγαθοί. — εἶναι ἄν = ἦν ἄν. — τὸν ἄτρακτον, the shaft, used both for a spindle and for an arrow; the words λέγων τὸν οἰστόν imply that ἄτρακτος was not the common Attic name for arrow. — ὁ ἐντυγχάνων . . . λίθοις, he who happened to be struck by (lit. he who met with) stones, &c.

Page 210. — 55. μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβῶσιν (G. 239, N. 1), until they should have come to some (τι) agreement: see § 37 (συμβαθῆναι). — ἐξαγαγόντες



(G. 138, N. 8). — ὡς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην, for ἐς ταύτην ὡς ἐς πατρίδα, to be joined with πέμψαντες. These "Messenians of Naupactus" were settled in this place (in Ozolian Locris, north of the Corinthian Gulf) by the Athenians, who took them under their protection after the surrender of Ithome (in Messenia) in 455 B. C. (For the revolt of the Helots and the long siege of Ithome, see Grote, Chap. XLV.) — οὔσης, shown by ποτέ to be imperfect (G. 204, N. 1), *which was a part, &c.* See § 4, above; and ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες, below. — ὁμόφωνοι, of the same (Greek) dialect.

56. μὴ . . . τι νεωτερισθῇ, *lest some revolution of still greater magnitude should be stirred up for them in the country*: this represents an active construction νεωτερίζειν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, *to revolutionize some of the affairs in the country*. For σφίσι, see G. 184, 3, N. 4. — ἐνδηλοὶ εἶναι: a participle is understood, to be supplied from οὐ ῥαδίως ἔφερον (G. 280, N. 1). — κομίζεσθαι, *to recover*. — φοιτῶντων, genitive absolute with a pronoun to be supplied from αὐτούς. See note on § 39, above. — ἀπράκτους, active, = οὐδὲν πράξαντας.

In the year after the taking of Sphacteria (B. C. 424), the historian Thucydides was appointed to a command in Thrace, where he had a family estate in a district rich in gold mines. While he was in command, Amphipolis was suddenly attacked by the Spartan Brasidas. Thucydides was summoned to bring aid; but Brasidas entered Amphipolis a few hours before Thucydides with his fleet sailed into the mouth of the Strymon, at Eion, about three miles below Amphipolis. For this misfortune or fault the historian was banished from Athens. His exile (of "twenty years," as he says) he spent in regions under the Spartan rule, chiefly in Peloponnesus, gathering the materials of his history. His death took place about B. C. 401, when he was near the age of seventy.

## SOME OF THE IMPORTANT DATES OF GREEK HISTORY.

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Legislation of Solon . . . . .	B. C. 594
Tyranny of Pisistratus and his Sons . . . . .	560-510
Conquest of Asia Minor by Cyrus . . . . .	546
Hippias, son of Pisistratus, expelled . . . . .	510
Democratic Constitution of Clisthenes . . . . .	507
Ionic Revolt in Asia Minor . . . . .	500
Defeat of the Revolt : Miletus taken . . . . .	494
First Persian Invasion : Battle of Marathon . . . . .	490
Invasion of Xerxes : Thermopylae and Artemisium (July), Salamis (September) . . . . .	480
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WITH PARALLEL REFERENCES TO THE EDITION OF 1892  
AND TO HADLEY-ALLEN'S GREEK GRAMMAR.

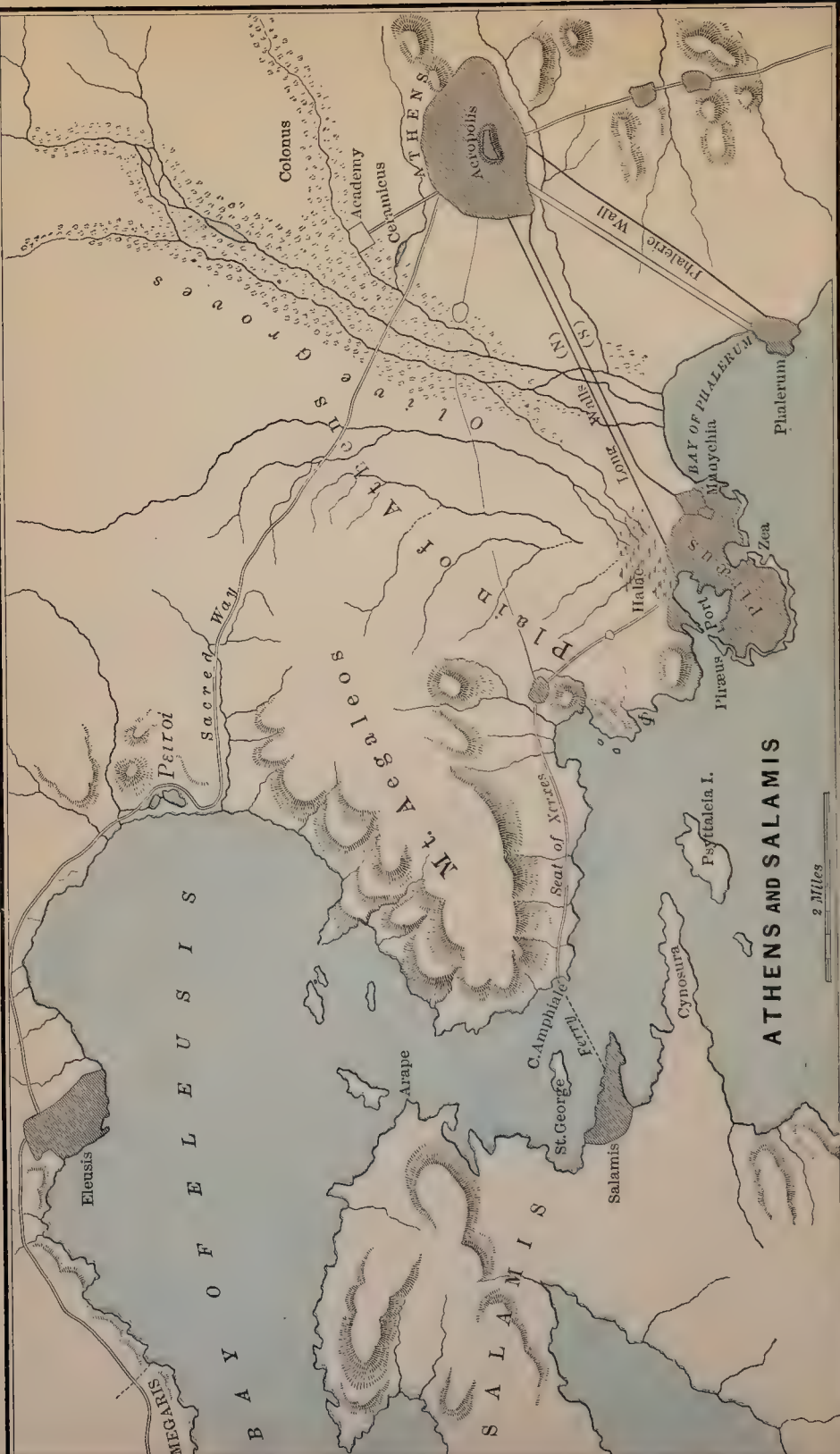
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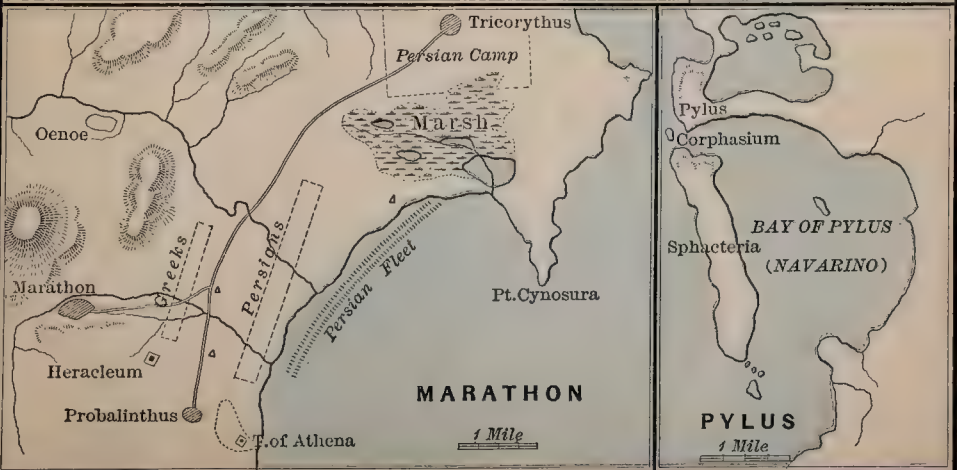
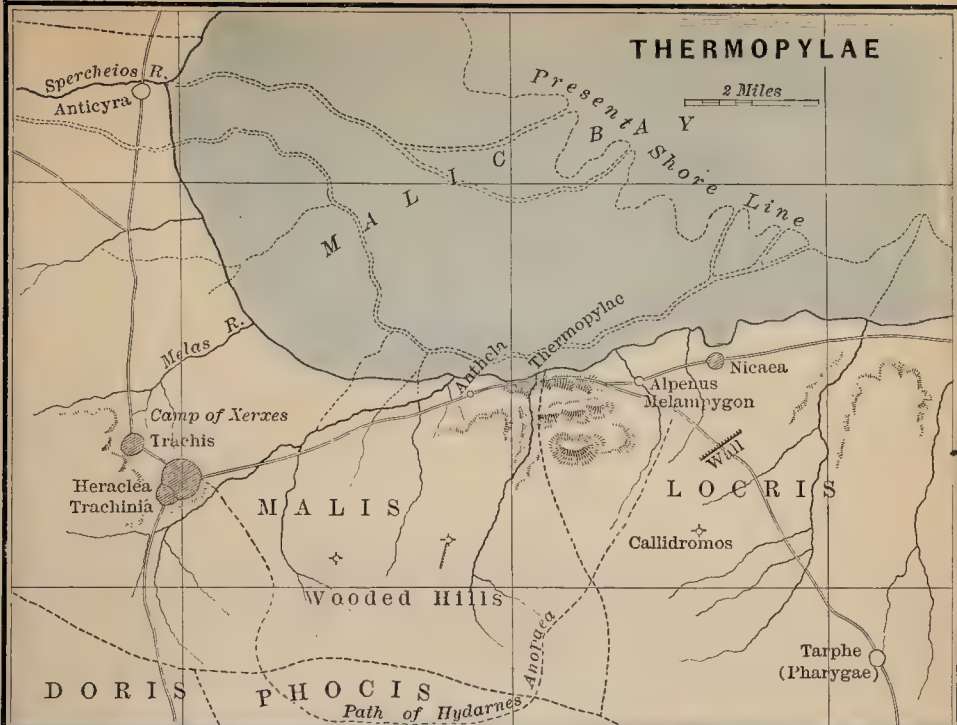




II, Heracleum. A-II, first Greek position. B-K, later Greek position.  $\Phi$ ,  $\Psi$   $\alpha$   $\rho$   $\omega$   $\nu$   $\Delta$   $\mu$   $\eta$   $\rho$   $\nu$

2 Miles



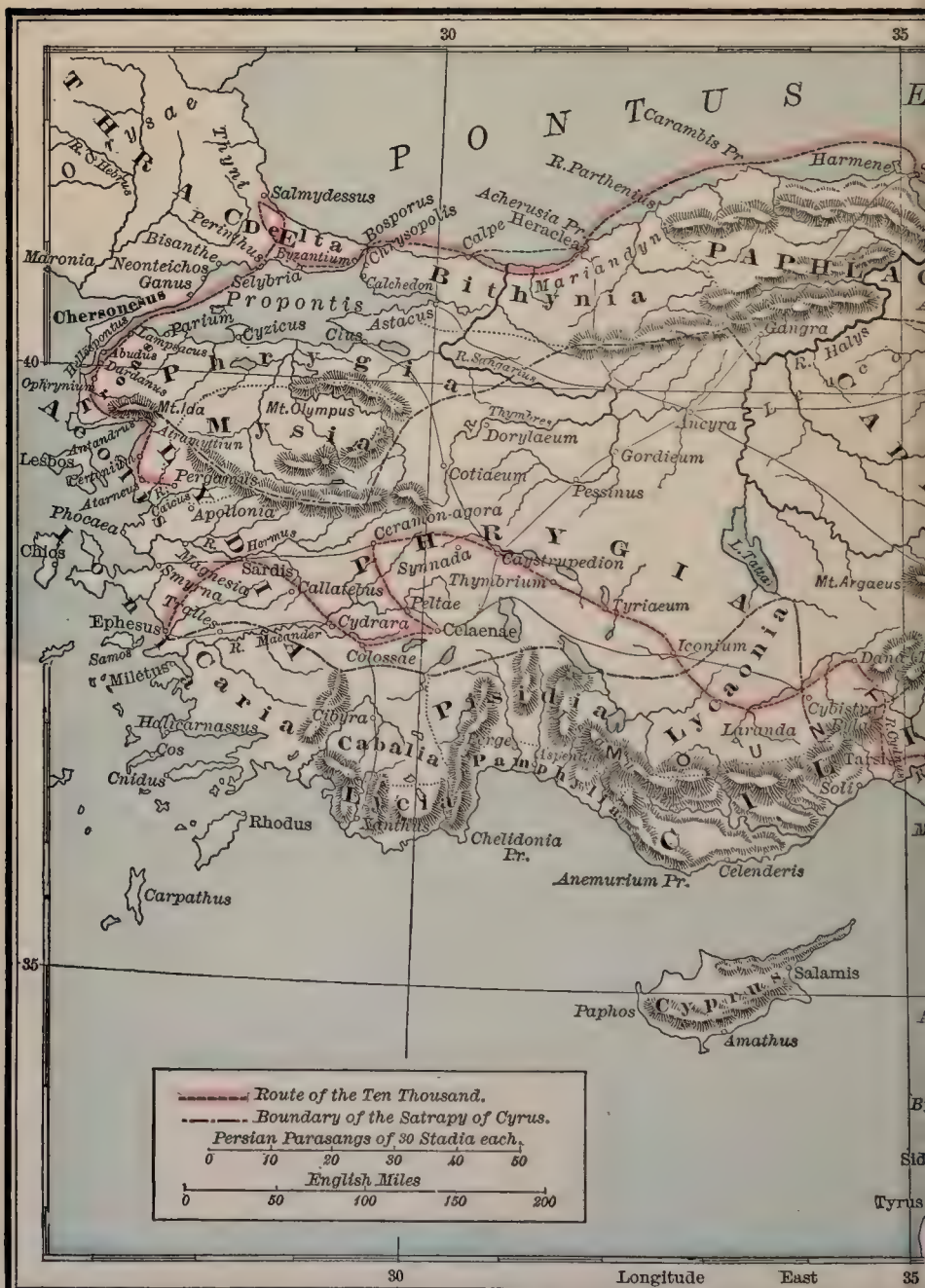




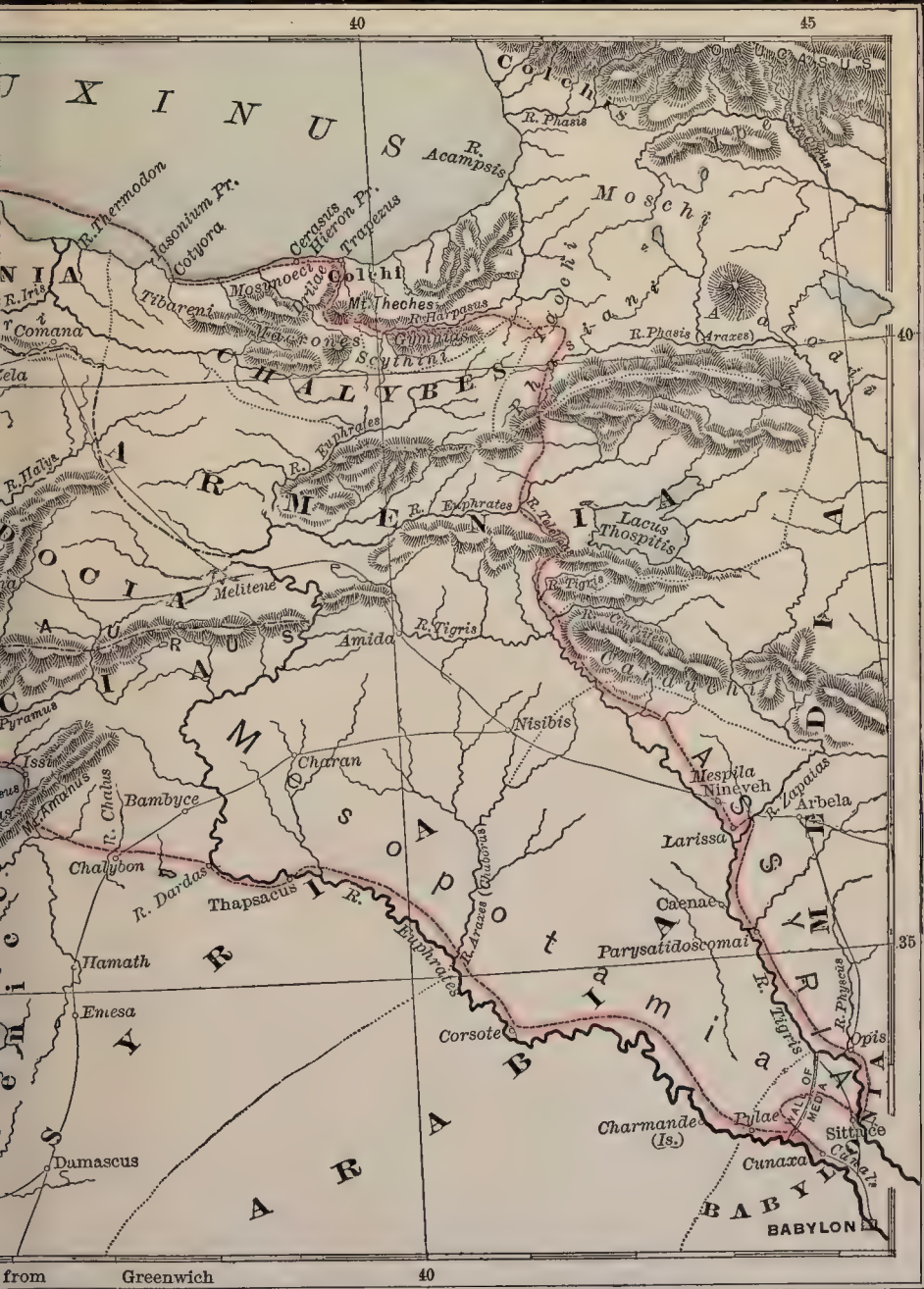




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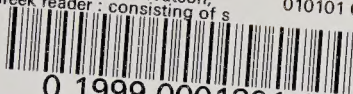
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